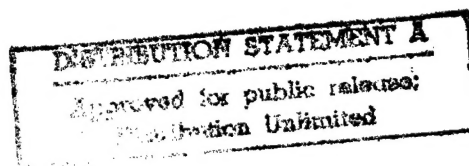


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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## ROMANIA

### CONFRONTATION OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY, SOCIAL PRACTICE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 10 Aug 83; No 21, 10 Nov 83

/Discussion by Univ Prof Dr Alexandru Boboc, Univ Reader Dr Aculin Cazacu, Univ Prof Dr Gheorghe Alexandru Cazan, Univ Prof Dr Docent Dumitru Ghise, Univ Reader Dr Constantin Florea, Ion Mitran, Univ Prof Dr Petru Panzaru, Univ Prof Dr Ion Tudosescu, Ovidiu Trasnea, Catalin Zamfir, Nita Dobrota and Nicolae Culic/

/No 15, 10 Aug 83 pp 24-32/

/Text/ The new stage in Romanian society's development calls for in-depth analysis of the facts and deduction of the theoretical and practical conclusions essential to efficient socialist construction. This requires a creative effort to develop the revolutionary theory and to keep renovating its principles and concepts in step with the changes in society and with the new processes of the present period. The revolutionary nature of the theory of scientific socialism lies in the very fact that it is constantly enriched by confrontation with practice and that it does not formulate immutable principles laid down once and for all but aids investigation and interpretation of events in accordance with the new economic, social, national and historical conditions.

So far from a repudiation of its fundamental principles or a curtailment of its party spirit, the effort to refresh the revolutionary theory and renovate its conceptual system is a reflection and a proof of the eminently scientific and creative character of the political and philosophical thought of the working class. The classics of scientific socialism themselves repeatedly pointed out that the theory they developed is no dogma or dead letter but a guide to action and a method of analyzing social phenomena and of interpreting the changes in the world and determining the revolutionary strategy and tactics. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out on this subject, "A constant effort to keep renovating the proletariat's revolutionary conception is especially necessary today, in the period of the most far-reaching technical-scientific revolution when human knowledge has assumed unprecedented proportions and the sciences are contributing more and more new data on the materiality of the world and the dialectical development of society." This calls for the greatest receptiveness to all that is new and progressive in the world, correlation of the gains in knowledge with differentiated treatment of the various theoretical trends and positions and, of



course, an aggressive critical analysis and a firm, soundly substantiated and convincing reply to reactionary bourgeois ideology and backward, irrational, anti-Marxist and anticommunist ideas.

The revolutionary theory's creative dialectical spirit itself fosters discussion, action and a scientific climate of free exchange of opinions and of research and investigation for purposes of theoretical generalization and practical solution of the problems presented by construction of the new order and the highly complex processes of our era. Of course this is no temporary or occasional effort but a constant endeavor in keeping with the ceaseless flow of events and of social development.

To meet these requirements ERA SOCIALISTA has arranged a discussion, to be published in several numbers of the journal, concerning some current problems in the dialectics of the revolutionary theory's development in confrontation with social practice.

DUMITRU GHISE: At first glance, discussion of the creativeness of historical and dialectical materialist philosophy today, or of the dialectics of the revolutionary theory's development in confrontation with social practice, might appear at least superfluous if not downright pointless. I do not know or believe that there is still any adherent of the revolutionary conception today who would expressly deny its essential attribute of creativeness and constant enrichment.

To all appearances at least there is unanimous support for the idea that Marxist philosophy is an open philosophy that has been constantly enriched in historical practice along with the progress of human knowledge and experience in general. Marxism constituted a true revolution in philosophy for the very reason that it put an end to traditional thinking and any tendencies to petrify thought in fixed and rigid concepts set once and for all. Nothing seems nor actually is more strange (a veritable contradictio in adjectu) than regarding dialectics as a petrified and ossified instrument, an imaginary master "key" that sprang from Zeus' head like Athena to open all the locks and enigmas of history without any difficulty or effort to think or to keep fitting it to the subject to be known in its constant state of change.

And yet despite these appearances the creativeness of historical and dialectical materialist philosophy is often actually regarded quite differently, to say the least, by some theorists who think that they themselves are the sole keepers of the "secret" of creativeness. Yes, they say, dialectical-materialist philosophy is unquestionably creative. It is only "who" has the right to "create" that is questionable. And by their attempts to discredit and block any effort of others to think creatively or to differentiate and enrich the determinations of categories or concepts (which became "classic" in time) according to the results of careful and detailed study of the particular and the specific-historical reality, these unique representatives of the creativeness of Marxism let it be understood that in their opinion they and they alone are entitled to do it.

And as we well know, not only is there no monopoly on Marxist thought, but whenever a successful attempt has been made to establish one bad consequences were not far behind it. Nothing has done more serious damage to the vital spirit of dialectics than the various forms of dogmatism and neologism which, unfortunately, have tried and often succeeded over the years in nipping in the bud any effort to carry out that spirit in practice.

We feel those are sufficient reasons why an in-depth discussion of the creativeness of the revolutionary theory is not only not superfluous but quite necessary.

ION MITRAN: All the more so because the Marxist theory is having a powerful and far-reaching effect upon the social and political aspects of our era, which differs from previous historical periods in that the effective process of actual construction of the new order has permanently implanted the idea of socialism.

So far from a Utopian goal, socialism reflects one of the characteristic realities of the second half of the 20th century, and the revolutionary prospect of all mankind's transition to a new social order calls for a comprehensive and creative approach based on clear and realistic examination of the facts in the light of at least two considerations. In the first place, such an examination shows that the dialectics of the development of socialism and the theoretical confrontations about reality and its ideals cannot be understood without the conclusion that despite some temporary difficulties or the mistakes of a given period, the new society is exerting a growing influence upon the peoples of the world today. In the second place, this influence cannot be reduced to any one field (economics alone, social relations alone, or ideological superiority alone), just as it cannot be minimized or overrated without risk of defeatism or, conversely, of complacency, both of which are equally ineffective in forecasting new and viable horizons of the social future.

The CRP's documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's explanations stress the fact that the contemporary world is going through complex and often contradictory processes in its intensive progress toward a new form of international relations and of the nations' social existence. The implications of these changes or trends toward further changes and the novelty of many of them require a continuing creative effort to analyze the correlation between the principles of scientific socialism and the process of applying them under conditions that are not and can never be identical. And as we know, in the ideological confrontations of the time the theoretical principles and the practice of socialism come in for a wide variety of criticisms, opposition and theoretical distortions.

Accordingly, in the CPR's view and for philosophers, sociologists and the social and political sciences in general, to reflect the new course of history completely and in detail and to interpret the qualitative changes in human existence and awareness means to reflect the evolution of the conflict between the progressive revolutionary forces and the backward forces, to mark the course, from the philosophical viewpoint of the working class and the party positions, of the great ideological confrontations directly or indirectly concerning the social-political options that give rise to the great power of attraction of Marxism and scientific socialism, and to consistently maintain a creative revolutionary spirit.

PETRU PANZARU: Marxism has the attributes of science and is subject to the rules and standards of science. One of the first ones is that its theories, principles and basic concepts must be objective, truthful and verifiable, and a second one, compatible with the first, is creativeness, resulting not only from its internal theoretical-methodological principles, that is the principles of historical-materialist dialectics, but also from regular contact with the often radical changes that take place in objective social-historical reality, and from receptiveness to all that is new.

As a philosophy and as a social-humanistic science, Marxism is an achievement of man's genius with roots deep in world culture and with extensive ties with the contemporary advances of science. Nothing is more foreign to Marxist philosophy, political economics, political science or sociology than dogmatic isolation, complacency, conservatism and detachment from the tumult of life. The dogmatic eclipsing of Marxism in a certain period was an abdication from its essentially critical and revolutionary spirit. The relapses cannot be so described.

Why must the innovating spirit and character of Marxist science be constantly emphasized? Because stagnation in theory and science is taking its vengeance upon social practice, and the ways to avoid this stagnation, with its so bad effects upon social progress and the continuity of the revolutionary process are spirited scientific, theoretical, ideological and political discussion and the effort to generalize new social experience and to note and consider the new phenomena, trends and contradictions and the prospects. The CPR has been doing this especially since the Ninth Party Congress, which lent an unprecedented impetus to creative application and development of the revolutionary theory under the conditions in Romania and the contemporary world. It has successively formulated and verified in social experience new principles and concepts that will not only accurately reflect the complex realities of today but also clarify the prospects of future development on the course of fully developed socialism and of communism in Romania. And it should be pointed out that rejection of obsolete theories and concepts that have been outmoded by the past stages of socialist revolution and construction and their replacement with new theories and concepts that are appropriate (which we shall discuss below) are not sporadic but regular, leading to a unified, close-knit and soundly substantiated view of socialism and the contemporary world.

The responsibility of the CPR's role as a leading political force in socialist construction and as the vital center of the Romanian socialist nation is reflected in the new ideas, principles, concepts and policies formulated in the CPR Program and in Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical, political and ideological works.

The experience of the CPR and the Romanian people in the last 18 years conclusively proves how vitally important it is to take a creative and revolutionary attitude toward theory and not to regard the classic principles, as well as those of our own formulated at a given point under certain historical conditions and at a certain stage of social development, as immutable and not to convert them into dogmas for progress in creating the new society and the new man.

I should like to stress the point here that renovating the revolutionary theory and its system of concepts, explanations and predictions not only does not mean abandoning the basic principles or the essence of dialectical and historical materialism, scientific socialism, and Marxist political economics and sociology but actually bears out the eminently scientific character of the philosophical and political thought of the working class, which has accepted and is successfully fulfilling the historic mission of creating a radically new kind of civilization, namely socialist and communist civilization.

CONSTANTIN FLOREA: The creative attitude toward revolutionary theory is indeed more necessary than ever in our times. Just what leads to this conclusion? I

think we might include such factors as the following: the nature and content of the present period, with its vast, radical and rapid revolutionary, social and national changes and its great material and intellectual changes; the increasing extent and diversity of the progressive revolutionary forces engaged or objectively interested in forming new national and international relations; conversion of the international communist and workers movement into an extensive and influential force for contemporary historical progress; the complex and contradictory nature of the process of revolutionary world reform; the greater diversity of historical conditions, ways, means and rates with which the peoples are undertaking socialism; the changes in the world balance of power and the system of international relations; the dialectics of the main trends in current international affairs, etc.

Accordingly, as Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must not look in the classics' works to see whether or not they said something about the phenomena of today. To think that way means to act dogmatically, to be a conservative instead of a revolutionary, and to lag behind social development. To be a revolutionary means you look ahead, you act according to the new advances of human knowledge in all fields, you understand the social requirements and the hopes of the working masses and the entire people, you purposefully guide the masses by organizing and directing their work and struggle, and you find the ways to secure society's development and progress toward communism!" Romanian society's whole development since the Ninth Party Congress and the unprecedented extent and depth of the reforms instituted in that period in all areas of social existence graphically illustrate the correctness of the domestic and foreign political policies instituted by the CPR and its secretary general and their full accord with the realities and particular conditions in Romania and with the demand for creative development of revolutionary theory and practice.

DUMITRU GHISE: It has already been pointed out that Marxism has the attributes of science and is subject to the rules and requirements of the natural process of innovation. From its beginnings, the great strength of dialectical-materialist philosophy has consisted of its ability to proceed not from the ideas of reality that man has or may have at a given point but from investigation of reality itself in the course of experience and from verification of the results of that investigation by means of and within that experience. Thanks to Marx, philosophy ceased to oppose or overlap science and became a science itself, capable of discovering in reality and the kaleidoscopic multiplicity of the particular the most general and objective laws of the world's development, nature, society and the human condition. Being antidogmatic, antiopinionated and antiformalistic by its basic and working principles themselves and by its origin, and having practice as its points of departure and arrival, materialist dialectics proved to be a vital, receptive research method free of prejudices and hostile to them. Its power to penetrate and explain reality was due to the fact that it approached reality not in order to force it into predetermined concepts and canons or a priori patterns but to proceed from the concrete to the abstract, the concept being a reflection of reality and not the reverse.

By revealing the illuminating core of society, as well as its structures and functions, Marx became the first to cut the Gordian knot of the problem of the relationship between the object and the subject in history, providing a scientific interpretation of man in the universe in his relations with nature and



society. The subject is no longer identified with pure subjectivity (as he had been in one way or another by idealism) nor is he any longer underrated and reduced to a passive existence as an object (as he had been by mechanistic materialism especially). Nor is he any longer viewed as a mere unit, enclosed in himself without determinations or connections with what is outside of him or with society or history, nor fatally trapped in the nexus of rigid determinations that annihilated his freedom. For Marx the subject is himself socially and historically determined, a result of the entirety of social relations, but through his conscious activity, through practice, he becomes an agent of historical change.

Regarding the individual, the subject, as a social being while regarding human knowledge as conscious activity, as practice, are the two key factors in Marx' scientific explanation of human knowledge as the relationship between object and subject that is instituted in the area of practice. In addition to these there is a third great and fertile idea, that of the processual and historical nature of knowledge. Being limited in space and time (hence also its relative but not subjective character), knowledge is no longer the prerogative of any individual nor is it identical with any aspect of it *hic et nunc*. It is a progression and accordingly infinite. It is an asymptotic progression toward knowledge of absolute truth (never completed because of the infinite and constantly changing character of the material world).

Time has proved Marx right. Man has proved to be both the shell in whose depths the social echo sounds and the practical instrument with which history is made.

Thanks to Marx, philosophy ceased to be a mere contemplative-interpretative state of the world and became a guide to reform of that world. In fact, therein lie the great strength of the thought founded by Marx and the unlimited and increasingly strong attraction that dialectical and historical materialism has for the human consciousness. From one of the "many factions or schools of socialism," as it was at the start and as Lenin calls it in the article "Historical Fate of Karl Marx' Doctrine," the German philosopher's thought asserted itself more and more strongly as time passed, gaining the adherence of the working masses everywhere. Today socialism is being constructed in many countries of the world and is the ideal toward which all those are striving who aspire to institute a just world free of exploitation of man by man.

ACULIN CAZACU: The receptive and creative character of our conception of the world is due to the nature of the theoretical procedure, faithfully reflecting the distinctive processes and trends in the surrounding reality. By its very origin, the working-class revolutionary view was a profound prospecting of the new and of the "facts bearing the future." The interpretation of the general economic and social laws was by no means confined to conceptual processing of the accumulations of historical experience but sought, with a consistency that only the dialectical approach can maintain, to determine and anticipate the possible, probable and desirable consequences of the vital processes of the times. And as soon as it became involved with the revolutionary action of the masses, becoming a true "revolutionary force," theoretical construction became accordingly receptive to new conceptual approaches that could play both an explanatory and an operational role, could guide the revolutionary process, and could lend it awareness of its origin and purposes. And so I should like to point out that conceptual innovation is an inherent feature of our conception

of the world, one originating in the interaction between theory and practice, free of the temptation to speculate, and focused on anticipating the immanent, necessary and regular course of the historical process. And so today as well, in such a complex world as the one wherein we live, if analytical consistency is to be maintained and the creative spirit of Marxism is to be preserved intact, the new must always be included in its theoretical discourse and in its representative typological determinations characteristic of large categories of facts as well as social phenomena and processes.

The creative spirit and the effort to present the characteristics of the new economic, social and political realities of the contemporary world in appropriate concepts are in no way to be confused with analytical inconsistency. On the contrary, conceptual reconstruction in keeping with the realities is deeply involved in the vital spirit of dialectics, as well as enrichment of the significance of the main concepts, rejection of principles and ideas that no longer have factual grounds, and development of new theoretical structures that will permit, as they are determined, causal and determinist explanation of the processes in the contemporary world.

ION MITRAN: It should be noted in this connection that man's evolution toward the new order has been generating a wealth of literature and keeps suggesting reflections and analyses giving rise to a number of new theories and conclusions whose formulations, as they are constantly theoretically refined, demand firm rejection of any outmoded patterns, formulas or theories of life however traditional or classic they may be.

As we know the principles and ideas resulting from correlation with the objective trends of social development keep proving their value and truly revolutionary character. When the "intersection" of arguments is replaced by subjective, one-sided theories to say nothing of hostile ones, concepts, ideas or judgments "to order" appear on the screen of discussion that are more or less edifying from the theoretical point of view because each one naturally reflects a different position on the part of the various social groups and circles or political parties.

It is very well known that hostile, anticommunist propaganda created and fostered a distorted image of the new order and that it intended (and of course still does in our times, in ways that are sometimes rather clever and sometimes brutal) to discredit socialist principles and theories, also using, it is true, certain petrified errors and theories as well as certain myths "born" even within socialism due to some past voluntarist trends and rigid theoretical patterns of which it cannot be said that they are only recollections of the past.

The creative approach to the problems of the new order brings out the need of a receptive analysis, made in a constructive militant spirit but with the care and reservations required by logic for any process in full development concerning which definitive and categorical evaluations and judgments cannot be announced beyond the eras, periods and stages of its development.

It is apparent to anyone reading the social-political literature of the period that the "arsenal of opposition" to socialism has been and is being "renovated" and "adapted" as its panoply is "furnished" with ideas and theories ranging from deliberate distortion to semiacceptance and recognition designed in some cases

to be used in the conflict with socialist ideology like a hypothetical "Trojan Horse." From those positions a whole constellation of defenders of the capitalist system, to say nothing of theorists of every description and more or less old but "renovated" theories, have been advancing hypotheses about so-called "modern" alternatives of human society.

In this new historical context, the confrontation of the various ideological conceptions of society's present and future places the progressive revolutionary forces in the active, militant echelon capable of an extensive theoretical demonstration for purposes of clarification. Among these forces the communists and the theory of scientific socialism in general have a primarily important part to play. We know from the history of social-political thought that any school of ideas, political party or social force that does not keep up with changes in reality and does not assimilate (with discrimination to be sure) the transformations of life risks being left on the periphery of events and outside the eddy of vicissitudes characteristic of any crossroads of history. Interactions of ideas have appeared and are appearing on this path, as well as separations, acceptances and rejections followed by new social syntheses and new theoretical approaches. But in no case can theoretical generalization of new realities be equated with what some call abandonment of "Marxist-Leninist purity," "revisionism," or even "concession to bourgeois ideology."

The militant approach to the problems of the new order's place and role in contemporary civilization calls for consideration of the entire process through which human society is passing and of the various ways and means that tend to conform to the course of social renovation and overthrow of the old capitalist system in one way or another.

GH. AL. CAZAN: A recent phenomenon that can and should be considered favorable in itself is the increasingly pronounced interest the Marxist theorists are taking in contemporary revolutionary thought and its development in various countries of the world. The discussions arranged by various Marxist journals bear out, although of course they are not the only example of it, the effort to develop contemporary revolutionary theory in keeping with the constantly new demands of social experience.

The methodological and theoretical position is particularly important in this procedure. I think research and value judgments on the contemporary revolutionary theory require a strict methodology eliminating subjectivism and the misrepresentation that any one of the theorists involved in the discussion is the bearer of the "true Marxism." Sound, in-depth knowledge of the theoretical developments and the particular contributions of the various communist and workers parties is also needed, knowledge that can obviate the vagueness, recrimination, dogmatism, narrow bias, threatening allusions and inaccuracies that can cause confusion and actually baffle and mislead people's awareness, thus supporting, perhaps unintentionally, the anticommunist ideological campaign to the effect that Marxism has been "pulverized." For example, some authors have a baffling and incomprehensible tendency to transfer the concept of the ideological conflict in the area of relations between Marxist and reactionary ideology to relations among Marxist thinkers, reducing the immense effort to generalize social experience and to develop new ideas to a so-called ideological "conflict" among Marxist theorists.

Of course these views may sometimes be based upon lack of information or exact knowledge of the various parties' actual contributions to creative development of the revolutionary theory, but they also betray a profoundly undialectical view of the concepts of that theory. For some Marxist philosophers, their ideas and content are sacrosanct. They are fixed once and for all and have the same validity for any period and therefore must be applied even if the historical experience differs from that which generated and required them. Of course the problem requires more extensive discussion. The point I wish to stress is that Engels, Lenin and Marx himself never thought throughout their whole activity that any idea can cover a reality completely. In "Philosophical Notebooks" V. I. Lenin pointed out the approximate nature of the epistemological term "ideas," consequently requiring comprehensive dialectical-materialist investigation of the facts.

Being determined opponents of bias, the classics of scientific socialism demonstrated that the strength of the revolutionary party of the working class does not lie in pedantry and mechanical mastery of the ideas and principles of historical and dialectical materialist philosophy, but in the ability to apply and develop it according to the new facts, the particular social contradictions, the nature of the relations among the social classes and groups and among states, the international situation, etc.

It is not the ideas as such that are absolute in Marxism, but their connection and consequently the need to develop revolutionary theory and practice according to each people's social-historical experience. To be sure the revolutionary theory contains a body of common truths, but they are not at all identified, in isolation and divorced from historical experience, with any one idea but are viewed in the spirit of that theory, which Lenin considered critical for the political ideology and practice of the working class and definitely opposed it to dogmatism.

When some foreign authors speak of a "material ideological conflict" within Marxism, they are not about to observe the new elements and developments in the revolutionary theory but to consolidate their own opinions as absolute truths and accordingly reject the possibility of the dialogue that is so essential to theoretical progress. And as we know, where the dialogue is rejected isolation and silence set in, and paralysis of theory along with them.

As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, creative development of the Marxist theory has not been, is not and cannot be anyone's monopoly. Among other things, the revolutionary theory has the attribute of not being "private property." In my opinion, to consider the Marxist theory any but a revolutionary one, receptive to experience and constantly enriched by continuing knowledge of the facts and the data of contemporary science and culture, or to operate within it with sacrosanct terms and ideas fixed once and for all is to impair the value and strength of contemporary Marxism.

Unquestionably the study of contemporary Marxism does not exclude the critical spirit, dialogue or different opinions on a given phenomenon. But as it has been said here that certainly does not mean any "concession to bourgeois ideology" or inconsistency but, on the contrary, an essential way of promoting the ever vital dialectical spirit of the revolutionary theory and of constantly enriching it in step with the realities of our period.



ALEXANDRU BOBOC: What distinguishes the history of the last few decades in the evolution of contemporary Marxism is the increasingly pronounced advance of the creative spirit, chiefly due to combination of the effort to generalize new experience with that toward long-range theoretical development, which are particularly important to the prospects and modern reconstruction of the revolutionary theory.

Anchored in the present, the more pronounced involvement in reality of the theoretical developments has demonstrated the nonviability of the theory of a closed, definitive unity of Marxism-Leninism, a theory that excludes flexibility and diversity ab initio and comes in conflict with the creative essence itself of the revolutionary conception of the world.

The perception of new horizons of knowledge and revolutionary action, in a way a turning point in the progress of contemporary Marxist thought, accordingly depends upon its active return to experience and reality, beyond "classic" texts and "classic" contexts, as an urgent necessity for the development of each communist party's personality in a new system of relations in the world communist movement and a new system of values of revolutionary action. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Expanded Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of June 1982, the CPR proceeds from the fact "that it is the right of every party to characterize, in one way or another, the socialism that it is constructing," and "that any form of socialism that is constructed in a country is real and in keeping with the historical necessities."

Receptiveness to experience and the new and better understanding of each Communist Party's role provide the essential conditions for creativeness, which is not confined to mere application of the generally valid truths of the revolutionary theory but also enriches its conceptual fund and its treasury of ideas. The CPR's documents are a graphic example both of the necessity of greater flexibility in rethinking the applications of the revolutionary theory and of the very need of reorganizing and reappraising some of its concepts and problems and its structure.

Definition of the nature of the state in the new stage of Romanian society's development is of great theoretical and practical importance in this respect. The party secretary general's analysis of this problem is based on the fact that "In view of the changes that have taken place in Romanian socialist society and the new democratic forms of management, we can say without fear of error that the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat no longer corresponds to the current social and historical realities in Romania. In the first place, there is no longer a proletariat in Romania or the other socialist countries...", and "In the second place, the working class does not and did not intend to exercise power in a dictatorial way but in the most democratic way."

Considering the importance of the problem, the foregoing theoretical procedure is a true expression of creativeness and of a profoundly realistic understanding of the spirit of the revolutionary theory. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Second Workers Congress, "In analyzing any problems or ideas we must always proceed from the revolutionary conception of the world and life and from the economic and social realities of the present stage of society, realizing that the forms of organization and ideas are not eternal and determined once and for all."

New forms and new concepts in keeping with the new realities and new human knowledge must replace the old ones. "If improvements, including fundamental ones, are made in some principles of physics and chemistry, why should we regard the economic and social laws alone as irreplaceable and eternal? Merely because they were very advanced at one time?" As the party secretary general concluded, "It is not renovation that we have to fear, but stagnation in thinking and preservation of the obsolete forms! The danger to socialism does not lie in seeking the new but in preserving the old!"

In fact, intensified theoretical-ideological clarification of all activity of the communists and revolutionary forces is one of the major requirements of socialism and Marxism in the contemporary world. That is the only way the evolution and the internal dialectics of development of the revolutionary conception of the world and of its impact with the realities of today can be better understood.

PETRU PANZARU: Unfortunately, as we know, once a theoretical principle is formulated and almost unanimously accepted in a given historical period, it tends to perpetuate itself unchanged in another period whose objective realities and requirements it no longer reflects. The obsolete principles can be neither justified nor accepted even if the attachment to them has psychosociological explanations in the attitude of routine and convenience. For example not only a rational attachment but especially an emotional and sentimental one is still associated with the classic principle of scientific socialism concerning the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an obligatory form of government in the period of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is certain that the bourgeoisie has not and does not give up political and economic power voluntarily. It is certain that transition to socialism has meant and means a revolutionary process of expropriating exploiting classes and driving them from power, and that in the initial stages the socialist state, built upon the ruins of the bourgeois or bourgeois-landowner state organization in the form of a dictatorship of the proletariat, performs the functions of the latter and resorts, when the internal and international reactionary forces compel it, to violence against the counterrevolutionary forces and to all measures to consolidate and defend the political power of the working class, socialist ownership of the production means, and the independence and sovereignty of the socialist nation.

But socialist society has undergone extensive revolutionary changes in the period since the seizure and consolidation of worker-peasant state power. The socialist state has a profoundly and permanently constructive historical mission that it is implementing under the Communist Party's leadership. In the far-reaching and lengthy process of socialist revolution and construction, the forces and the economic and class structure have changed radically, the productive forces have been intensively developed, and socialist social relations have been improved. Now that they are owners of the production means and a leading class in government and society, the proletariat has ceased to be a proletariat and its management methods have definitely taken the course of socialist democracy, consolidation of the alliance, and collaboration with the other social classes and strata that have become socialist.

The designation "state of the dictatorship of the proletariat" is anachronistic and outmoded for an evolved worker-peasant state that is the main instrument of peaceful socialist construction and has a new and unified social and class basis entirely composed of classes and categories of workers. The CPR has rightly concluded that such is the situation of the present Romanian socialist state and decided to relace the designation "state of the dictatorship of the proletariat" with that of "state of workers revolutionary democracy." This accurately reflects the advanced stage of socialist construction in Romania, the extensive institutionalized system of socialist democracy that characterizes the whole political regime, and the new relations among the party, the state and the people. Under the new conditions there can no longer be either a dictatorship, because the exploiting classes and their socioeconomic roots have been eliminated, or a proletariat in the classic sesnse of the word because it has become a new class that has, along with the other workers, the status of producers, collective owners of the production means, beneficiaries of the national income, and participants in the exercise of political power within an extensive institutionalized system of socialist democracy.

The clearly warranted repudiation of the term "dictatorship" does not mean loss or impairment of the leadership of the working class or the Communist Party in the organization of the state and society. On the contrary, the working class is fully performing its historical mission as a leading social class in the largest proportion in the party, the nation's leading political force, in the collective management organs from bottom to top, and in all social activities. The working class ideology is the predominant one in the state and society. The working class conception of the world and life, namely historical and dialectical materialism, embodied and creatively applied in the CPR Program, in the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference of 1982, and in Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, is guiding the activity of all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality and uniting in a single stream their efforts in the entire task (difficult and not without contradictions and difficulties) of constructing the fully developed socialist society in Romania.

The eminently socialist nature of the state power in Romania, the CPR's political leadership, socialist ownership, mass participation in social management, the entire people's political-moral unity around the party, the principles of socialist ethics and justice applied to social relations, firm and vigilant defense of the gains of socialism, and the active, enterprising participation of socialist Romania and its president in consistent promotion of the interests of socialism, independence, sovereignty, collaboration with equal rights, and democracy and peace on the international level -- those are the meanings in fact and in action of the new concept of the state of workers revolutionary socialist democracy in contemporary Romania.

ION TUDOSESU: Many other basic questions and concepts of historical materialism could be discussed from the CPR's innovating viewpoint. To illustrate the consistency with which the CPR has been militating tirelessly for nearly two decades in this area, of which its documents are a living proof, we mention one of the basic theories that Nicolae Ceausescu has placed in the current circulation of ideas, concerning the relationship between people's social existence and their social awareness.

The secretary general pointed out in this connection at the National Party Conference of December 1982 that development of the dynamism of social awareness directly depends not only on production relations but also on the productive forces and people's activity in the material production process. Therefore their technical-occupational training plays just as important a part in forming their social awareness as their political and ideological training. This leads to the conclusion that activity and directly productive work and consequently not social relations alone (even if they are material) are basic to intellectual and moral training, the fundamental pivot of all contemporary historical determinism.

Correlation of this theory with that of the reverse connections between people's social awareness and social existence indicates another key explanation of the theoretical innovations on Romania's ideological and scientific fronts in the last few years. It follows from the content of this latest theory that people's ideas are not solely reflective and do not affect social evolution solely as a conditioned complex but have a directly causal role in social evolution and are one of the most active forces for Romania's progress in the present stage.

ACULIN CAZACU: Conceptual renovation and the development of new concepts and principles and their integration in the theory, while the analytical spirit of historical and dialectical materialism is kept unchanged, are not and cannot be any form of ideological conflict within our view of the world and society. By its nature theoretical and ideological creativeness is a conflict, but a conflict with the old, with dogmatic isolation in "fossilized" concepts devoid of dynamism and flexibility. Accordingly no credit whatever can be given to the idea of an ideological conflict about the general analytical model of Marxism.

Of course the contemporary revolutionary process has been constantly bringing essentially new facts into the discussions, some of which are still inadequately processed theoretically. This calls for intensive application of some conceptual reconsiderations. The widespread progressive movement in the world of today (which includes forces for socialism, democracy, peace, anti-imperialism, national liberation and defense of the new states' independence) demands, for example, the preparation and development of a synthetic, comprehensive concept to convey its entire wealth of manifestations. Upon analysis of these realities from an integralist and integrating standpoint, the CPR has developed the field of meanings of the idea of international solidarity, which brings out the advanced position and role of the communist and workers movement but also includes the variety and dynamism of other forces for progress in the contemporary world. Such a concept, in addition to the increment of explanatory and operational functions it acquires, also serves to prevent any discrimination or isolation on the level of political action and to actually channel effective efforts to coordinate and unify the forces for progress and enhance their dynamic, reforming character. This is just one example out of the many that can be given demonstrating the need of adapting theoretical procedure to the particulars of the revolutionary process.

I would point out that enrichment of the theoretical field necessarily depends upon the particulars of the contemporary ideological conflict and the irreducible character of our conception of the world in comparison with other views. We must consider the fact that the great conceptual proliferation of the antisocialist and anticommunist theories and their recourse to many "concepts of empirical generalization" require a definite substantive reply composed of definite party



options and from class positions, free of any prejudice or retreat into outmoded terminology. The ideological militance so characteristic of our world view cannot be effective if, for example, it is supported by generalizing formulations alone (such as "historical progress," "direction of history," "destiny" etc.), while bourgeois ideology is invoking particularizing concepts like "social rate," "social cleavage," "change," "conflict," "stationary state," "transience," "social reproduction," "invariant" etc.

Enrichment of our conceptual field through procedures for creative formulation of new operational terms is becoming a necessity if the ideological replies are to be based on appropriate and viable theoretical structures that can be expressed by a wide variety of theoretical constructions derived from social experience.

ION TUDOSESCU: Actually creative development of dialectical and historical materialism in our time is necessitated by a wide range of circumstances: by theoretical generalization of contemporary social practice (occurring in a period of radical revolutionary changes), by the theoretical-philosophical implications of the scientific data (carried to unforeseen horizons by the scientific-technical revolution), by the impact upon materialist dialectics of a number of new trends and views such as, for example, structural-systemic thought and the actionalist view (on the basis of which some basic concepts of the social and human sciences were reviewed recently), by the spectacular restructurings of the world of values (required by the more recent strategies and the most varied approaches for constructing the future), by the current demands and particular humanism of resolving the human condition (in the context of relations between the individual and society quite different from those in the past), etc.

In the light of these circumstances and others that have been mentioned here I should like to discuss a few of the basic concepts and questions of historical and dialectical materialist social philosophy that are centers of discussion and subject to theoretical rethinking.

Marx' definition of a social unit as an entirety of production relations, corresponding to a certain developmental level of the productive forces, upon which, in their capacity as the (economic) base of society, the whole superstructure (institutional and ideological) is erected is unquestionably still a basic premise of the materialist conception of history. But I do not think the respective concept covers all the articulations of the social system.

As we know, social relations (including production relations) are only the objective framework of the social process, and people's actual effort to produce material goods and cultural values are the causal basis of that process. This means that in the determinist view of the social process, people's productive activities are decisive and the social relations have only a conditional role. It might follow from this that the social system could be regarded both as a systemic complex of social relations (stratified according to the primacy of the material ones over the cultural ones) and also as a systemic complex of social actions (also stratified according to the primacy of the material-productive ones over the cultural-productive ones).

The emphasis upon the idea of action in the determinist explanation of social existence contributes to the review of the whole series of principles of the ontology of historical and dialectical materialism.

We might mention in this connection, for example, that the main problem of the dialectical-materialist theory of society is not (at any rate not solely) the problem of the relationship between social existence and social awareness (defined as the entirety of material social relations) but (primarily) the problem of the relationship between social practice and social awareness (the latter not being just a series of ideas and values reflecting people's existence and practical action but also, and particularly, systematic structures and conceptual and value constructions).

Therefore it is not a question of abandoning the classic concepts of a social system and a social unit but of a more differentiated and complete definition of them from the actionalist standpoint, a need increasingly felt in our period, when the actions of the subjective factor have a decisive effect upon the structure and evolution of the subjective factor.

Some methodological suggestions of the same nature can also be formulated in connection with the concept of the production method. Marx and Engels considered defining this concept in terms of one of its main manifestations, that is by using the structure of the material production process as a model. We think we can speak of the production method in terms of at least two kinds of it, namely the method of producing material goods and that of producing cultural values. The types "production method of social structures" and (Why not?) "production method of the agent of the social process" are also acceptable.

Moreover, the concepts of the production means and productive work can also be discussed in the same way. On the basis of the method of producing material goods alone, the concept of the instrument of work was often reduced to the particular tool of material production. If we are considering the practical relationship between man and society alongside that between man and nature, then the organizational structures of society (the institutions and organizations and even the state in its capacity as an organizational complex) play the role of a "tool." These structures have no intrinsic value but are instruments of the social agent (historical subject) that make him more efficient in cooperative relations (in a group or community) and in his relations with nature and society.

The role of the means of action is performed by the theoretical, scientific and ideological constructions (Accordingly not only science but also ideology, the entire awareness and the whole range of society's values make for greater efficiency in the social agent's practical relationships with reality). Moreover, since people's working power (physical as well as intellectual) together with the tools forms the entirety of the production means, we see no methodological objection to the idea that people's entire awareness (cognitively, axiologically and ideologically proportioned) serves as a motive force of the productive process on all levels of activity.

In the light of full comprehension of the structure of the concept of the production means, we no longer find it difficult to understand why the individual can be treated both as the end and the means of the productive process. The problem that arises is that one-sided reductionism must be avoided in this area as well as in the others.

We note that all these are only thoughts and considerations which, in the creative spirit of the revolutionary theory, encourage philosophical meditation and

conceptual reconstruction. They are a plea on behalf of the need to abandon patterns and to break any molds, often serving as "buffers" to block originality, inevitably leading to departure from the dialogue and the confrontation of the dialectical-materialist philosophical procedure and consequently to its lapse into dogmatism and sterility.

CONSTANTIN FLOREA: The entire development of the international communists and workers movement exhibits a continuous process of enrichment and renovation of the revolutionary theory in comparison with the constantly changing realities, one of creative application of the basic principles and theories of scientific socialism to the particular conditions of each country, each historical period, and every given stage in man's evolution. It is no doubt a complex process with contradictory developments at times, but regular on the whole, quite natural and, I would say, absolutely inevitable because it stems from the very nature of the historical and dialectical materialist conception, which is hostile to any isolation or stagnation of thought, any absolute, categorical opinions and conclusions and any final judgments and widely receptive to the advance of revolutionary creativeness and innovation.

Correlation with the socioeconomic facts and constant adjustment to the demands of reality are also essential to the viability of the revolutionary theory. Marx and Engels always said, "Our doctrine is not a dogma but a guide to action," and they satirized, quite rightly and with great sarcasm, the tendencies to learn ready-made formulas by rote and repeat them mechanically and to apply principles uncritically that were formulated in another historical period. In this spirit the founders of scientific socialism did not for a moment hesitate, when they thought it necessary, to revise various assertions, opinions and theories critically that they had formulated under certain historical circumstances, to enrich their content, or possibly even to replace them with others in keeping with the development of events, on the premise that practical application of the principles of communism will depend "always and everywhere upon the given historical conditions." In his turn and with the same logic, V. I. Lenin (who knew how to boldly abandon preconceived theoretical conclusions that seemed unassailable but no longer met society's objective requirements and established new conclusions in keeping with the specific conditions in imperialist Russia) stressed the fact that the revolutionary parties must take account of reality and its facts and not cling to yesterday's theory which, like any theory at best, indicates only what is fundamental and general and only approximates comprehension of reality as a whole. He said, "The Marxists take conditionally from Marx' theory only its valuable methods, without which social relations cannot be explained, so that for them the criterion for evaluating those relations does not lie in abstract systems or other absurdities of the kind but in the accuracy of the evaluation and in its correspondence to reality."

Over the decades, in the struggle against imperialism and capitalist exploitation and oppression on behalf of national independence, democracy, social progress, the victory of the socialist revolution, and construction of the new society, the communist and workers parties and other revolutionary forces in many countries of the world operated in just this spirit and developed and enriched scientific socialism. And therein lies, of course, one of the main sources of the historic victories of the communist movement. I think it would be sufficient to mention here the period of antifascist and anti-imperialist struggle in the 1930's and 1940's, the years of the anti-Hitlerite war, or the postwar

decades in order to bring out the great abundance of ways and means boldly promoted in the new historical stage by the communist parties and other progressive and revolutionary forces, the highly original elements and renovating changes introduced in their revolutionary strategy and tactics, the appearance of new and increasingly varied methods of transition to socialism, the original measures advanced in various areas of the task of creating and consolidating the new social order, etc. In this extensive revolutionary process of unprecedented depth some theoretical conclusions, opinions and principles inherited from the past have not been borne out and have been quite rightly modified or entirely abandoned, while the content of some concepts and categories of scientific socialism has been developed and enhanced.

For example, under the new historical conditions the principle of the "single model" of socialist revolution and construction, the concept of the "center of management" of the communist movement, etc. have been discredited and have come to be abandoned by more and more revolutionary parties. For a long time those theories and ideas dominated the communist parties' ideology and practice and appeared unquestionable and immutable, but they have begun to be replaced more and more by the idea of a growing diversity of paths to socialism and that of a new unity and solidarity of the communist parties based upon each party's independence, autonomy and full equality of rights. All this not only has not "harmed" revolutionary theory and practice in the least or "undermined" the communist movement but, on the contrary, it is widely recognized today that it has accelerated the world revolutionary process, brought out the vitality of Marxism even further, and greatly enhanced communism's prestige in the world. Thus the conclusion has been confirmed once again that the strength of the revolutionary theory lies primarily in dialectical treatment of the historical processes and phenomena and their many-sided and contradictory historical development in its connection with the objective problems and particular requirements of the period, which can and inevitably do change at each new turning point of history.

ACULIN CAZACU: The diversity of the conceptual system and analytical procedures with which we operate within the unified structure of our philosophical thought clearly and essentially distinguishes our procedure from any negative interpretation that might follow from such a very vague concept as that of "ideological pluralism." If, let us say, the latter concept (sometimes used as a forced substitute for theoretical activity) means establishing essentially different models and positions in the field of Marxist thought, the confusion becomes great and the immense wealth of processes in the contemporary world and of experience in establishing the new society is improperly questioned. The class character and the national character of the ideology, which are entirely compatible and supplementary, cannot be divorced or contrasted on the assumption that each one is an "ideological model in itself." The great complexity of reality and the resulting interdependence of the national and class aspects (in a much broader and more diversified context) refute the idea of "ideological pluralism" and substantiate that of unity in diversity, which is profoundly dialectical and equally characteristic of the ideological phenomenon.

Meanwhile the ideological processes going on in every country under socialism must take account of the worldwide ones. But including them in the dialogue and, as the case may be, in the confrontation of ideas and adjusting the analytical system to the particulars of the problems under discussion certainly



cannot be confused with uncritical acceptance of models or alteration of ideological purity and consistency, just as the differentiated and dynamic assertion of the creative spirit cannot be reduced to a kind of particularism devoid of principles and based upon a presupposed dichotomy between the general and particular and the external and internal.

In promoting the active, militant spirit of the revolutionary conception of the world and defending the purity of that conception with a wide variety of means, the CPR and its secretary general have often pointed out the necessity of building a sound argumentative structure based on analysis of the facts in their specific-historical determinations and their pronounced dynamism.

ALEXANDRU BOBOC: On the premise that Marxism is a living doctrine in constant renovation, the CPR has repeatedly stressed the need and advantages of exchange of opinions and of all the revolutionary forces' participation in development and enhancement of the revolutionary conception of the world and of historical and dialectical materialism.

The receptive and creative nature of Marxism is consubstantial with the realism of the revolutionary conception of the world, a realism that involves a profound critical awareness. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It is quite evident that the great discoveries of science, technology and human knowledge lend new proportions to and permit new interpretations of both the natural and social laws. We must not be afraid to change any law or any theory concerning socioeconomic development or the party... We must not look to the classics' works to see whether or not they said something about the phenomena of today. To think thus means to act dogmatically, to be a conservative instead of a revolutionary, and to lag behind social development."

As it has been said here, the dialectics of unity and diversity is the main consideration in this evolution of the revolutionary theory, and both components are equally necessary and active. For the communist and workers movement's experience inevitably led to repudiation of the principle of "monolithic unity of Marxism-Leninism," long regarded as a closed unity excluding flexibility and diversity. Against the background of the theoretical-methodological and conceptual unity of the oneness of creative Marxism in action we may speak of a diversity of solutions and interpretations as a process supplementing that of conceptual renovation and enrichment of Marxism's treasury of ideas. On the other hand, the justified rejection of the dogmatic interpretation of unity in contemporary Marxism certainly cannot justify overdoing diversity and losing the revolutionary spirit and the ideal common to all Marxists and communists of building socialism and communism and bringing about the new humanism.

Creative Marxism in action must unquestionably take account of all the major results of the communist movement and socialist construction. There is an interaction and a unity between the general truths of the revolutionary theory and the experience of every country and every Communist Party. The CPR's documents point out it is an objective requirement of the advance toward communism to make an in-depth theoretical study of the problem's of the Romanian system's development, of the phenomena going on in the world, and of the contradictions and changes in the world balance of power, since all ideological activity is based on historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism.

DUMITRU GHISE: Clearly we would be greatly mistaking the very spirit of the thought of the founders of the revolutionary theory if we sought answers in their works to all the problems facing mankind today. Their works are not a Talmud. Marx had no answers to questions that history had not yet posed in his period, and his works are not a body of irrefutable and uniform dogmas that exhausted human knowledge once and for all. Marx himself postulated the infinity of the world and its constant change. Therefore to try to pose as the holder of a monopoly on the absolute truth or to make such a holder of Marx is to deviate from the very spirit of his doctrine and from the profoundly creative character of the dialectical-materialist theory, which is hostile to any isolation and ossification. Marx himself erred in thinking that the proletarian revolution would occur simultaneously in all capitalist countries or in most of them. Upon analysis of the uneven development of capitalism, Lenin developed the Marxist theory that "The victory of socialism is possible at the start in a small number of capitalist countries or in one capitalist country alone." As we know history confirmed that theory. The ways of building socialism in the countries where the revolution took place were as we know very diverse, depending on each country's specific-historical features. Could Marx foresee the multitude and specific nature of all those movements?

Marx was not a prophet but a gifted thinker and scientist. He is our contemporary not because he offers us formulas for the very specific problems of the socialist revolution in any given country nor because we find answers in his works to any problem that arises in forming the new society and human awareness, in international politics and relations, and in the so rapid development of the scientific and technical revolution. Marx is our contemporary because he has provided us with a general conception, a mode of thought, and a method of investigating reality. Marx is our contemporary by virtue of the profoundly creative and antidogmatic spirit of his thought. Those essential features of Marx' thought lent his philosophy an invincible strength, but they also provided it with the opportunity for constant renovation and enrichment as scientific knowledge and social-revolutionary practice advance and develop.

Marx did not bequeath us a scaffold of rigid and immutable concepts and laws. By its very nature and by the perspective it created in understanding and changing the world Marxism removes any limits upon the free development of research. It calls for a constantly innovating and receptive attitude and a permanent break with speculation, dogmatism and closed systems. Dialectics is not a mere movement of concepts but of reality itself, of inexhaustible reality in motion, a dialectics of human activity and creativeness.

Failing to understand this revolutionary nature and profoundly creative spirit of Marx' philosophy, some ideologists confuse the infinite possibilities of this conception for renovation with a "crisis" in Marxist thought. Actually it is only a matter of the dialectical organ's capacity to approach and express conceptually the most unexpected changes in the real and in the contradictory, infinitely varied motion of historical reality. The creativeness of Marxist thought is obviously not fulfilled *sua sponte*, directly and with no difficulties. It is fulfilled in the context of a collective effort and the contribution of the communist and workers parties, of the contemporary thinkers dedicated to the revolutionizing process reforming the world, and of the ideas and values that socialist and communist society can institute. The haste with which some label or condemn any attempt to generalize a distinctive historical experience is foreign to the creative spirit of revolutionary philosophy.

CONSTANTIN FLOREA: I think there is good reason to believe that the development and enrichment of the Marxist theory, in close connection with the new national and international realities, are in an excellent condition to expand and intensify the revolutionary process of reforming contemporary society. Any delays or artificial obstacles in this direction may have bad effects. Moreover, as we know, some communist parties in the developed capitalist countries, upon examining their own past activity critically, indicate that the problems facing them today are due primarily to insufficient study of the realities in which they operate and which have undergone important changes in the last few decades, and to delays in determining a strategy of their own for transition to socialism suited to the conditions in their countries. It is thought that these lags in strategy have had serious effects upon the respective parties' theoretical and political programs and upon their political procedure in general.

Of course it is the duty of every revolutionary party to increase its contribution to enrichment of the Marxist theory in accordance with the problems presented by the development of each country and of the contemporary world as a whole. Accordingly I feel the effort can only be considered favorable and encouraging that more and more communist parties are making to review critically (on the basis of the lessons of their own experience and that of the communist and workers movement as a whole) the content of some "classic" concepts and categories, to abandon some of them or to modify them and considerably enrich their content or sometimes even to introduce a new and more appropriate terminology in their formulation in keeping with the requirements of the new conditions, and to determine the best ways of conducting the revolutionary campaign. There can be no grounds of any kind for regarding these efforts, which are quite legitimate and inevitable, as an "inconsistency" or, even worse, as expressions of "the pressure of bourgeois, imperialist ideology." On the contrary, an independent and creative search, in the spirit of the general, objective principles and laws, for original ways and means of fighting and determination of new strategies and tactics suited to the particular given situation can only be welcome, in my opinion. Such efforts should be met with understanding, interest and full confidence, for regardless of which revolutionary party they come from, they conform to the general process of development and enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice and consequently concern not just one particular party but the whole communist and workers movement and all the progressive, revolutionary, and anti-imperialist forces.

Of course it goes without saying that creative development does not mean breaking with the past, the "historical heritage," the basic principles or past experience, nor does it mean creating artificial barriers between different parties. And it is equally true that not every new theory or option is confirmed by experience or really meets any actual requirements. Even errors can also occur at times, and of course only the respective party can eliminate them. But none of these things should give rise to distrust or suspicion of other parties or serve as a pretext for mutual recriminations and attacks or for name-calling, as a subject for polemics, or as a reason for interference in any other party's internal affairs. Such practices, sufficiently discredited in the past and seriously harmful to the interests of the parties' unity and the general cause of socialism, conflict with the new principles of interparty relations and the requirements for a new unity and solidarity in the communist movement. Furthermore recourse to them can only breed confusion and distract attention from the vital problems of the present historical period and from the communists' priority aims and objectives.

As the CPR and its secretary general keep pointing out, observance of every revolutionary party's inalienable right to determine its policy, strategy and tactics independently and make its own contribution to creative application of the principles of scientific socialism according to each country's particular conditions and the general requirements of each historical period is the lasting foundation of the new unity among the revolutionary parties. This truth was heavily emphasized at the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in Europe in 1976, which entered "observance of freedom to choose different paths in the struggle for progressive social reforms and for socialism" in its resolution among the basic principles of international collaboration and solidarity among parties.

As a source of expressions of differences of opinion among the revolutionary parties, the peoples' transition to socialism and the processes in international affairs always present unprecedented and extremely complicated problems with many implications. Of course extensive, responsible and creative discussion of these problems is a major requirement of our times, but democratic discussion and expression of views on any given problem with respect for every party's opinions or position and for its political policy, and with the desire to maintain and develop collaboration and solidarity on the essential problems of the contemporary world.

ION MITRAN: Among other things, our discussion (to be continued in future numbers of the journal) brings out the fact that seeking theoretical explanations of new social processes (such as evolution of the state or promotion of the progressive forces' solidarity) not through receptive analysis of the new facts and critical detachment from what is old and outmoded by experience, but only by "reinterpreting" them on the basis of old concepts and ideas, means trying to "save" the concepts and ideas in themselves. And the temptation to "shape" reality according to theories accepted a priori is quite foreign to the analytical and objective spirit of historical-materialist philosophy and the Marxist political sciences.

The requirement to compare any analysis with social practice (a requirement always stated in the CPR's documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works) is a particularly fertile method because it is based on the prospective function of creative thought and on clear judgment and objective evaluation of the revolutionary changes and reforms in society, wherein predictable elements and known facts are closely involved at times with the haphazard and unpredictable ones. The fact no longer has to be demonstrated that if research in the social and political sciences is to progress it is very important to overcome the prejudice that the general theory and the scientific conception of the world and society excludes differences of opinion and diversity of solutions. As a result of social progress, the requirement for critical review of concepts and principles that no longer correspond to the new in society and its development flows from revolutionary social thought. The true analytical spirit, proceeding from general ideas and principles and from their correlation with social practice, keeps generating new value judgments and advancing new hypotheses, which are no more definitive or absolute than others they naturally refute that have become inoperative in social thought and practice. The road to new theoretical generalizations runs through careful study of the realities, ever changing and complex, and of the present or predictable contradictions.



Of course it is a characteristic of revolutionary theory and thought to refuse to make fetishes of propositions and texts indicating processes and phenomena that have been deleted from the "agenda" of social practice.

At the same time, in the spirit of materialist dialectics the principle should also be noted that the critical, decisive importance of practice in fertilizing theoretical thought should not lead to making a fetish of it. From the standpoint of the method of investigation and expression of opinions, theoretical activity, discussions and exchanges of opinions slanted toward descriptivism and preservation of the "prestige" of concepts and ideas from the past can be transformed into routine if they fail to depart from an "accounting" of the social facts or to foresee the trends of reality as a vital, constantly improved dialectical process. The history of social thought tells us that conformism and an apologetic manner shut the doors on new, fertile and creative ideas and formulation of opinions supported by the relevant arguments that can come only from real confrontation of opinions.

As we know and as it was pointed out in today's discussion, in this connection the CPR and its secretary general encourage consistent promotion of exchange of opinions because in the social sciences especially, debatable and controversial theories or views occur and will inevitably appear. Constant confrontation of theoretical points under their impact with the evolution of specific social reality is the framework wherein any moot questions of social thought and practice are the centers of the dialogue and confrontation. As a field for constructive exchange of opinions, materialist dialectics is actually the expression of the thinking which analyzes, which must of course be questioned or even doubted in the absence of logical arguments, and which stimulates discussions all the more because there are still controversial problems that have been examined insufficiently or one-sidedly from the theoretical standpoint.

It is apparent that the creative spirit calls for regular confrontation of ideas in such a way that they will not be confined to conceptual-methodological aspects, and they too are important, but will get to the heart and the essence of the processes and phenomena. Progress on the front of scientific knowledge directly depends on the extent to which the exchange of views helps to expand the cognitive horizon in any given field of science. And no one who has undertaken objective prospecting of reality and its revolutionary reform can stop at a priori "judgments" or outmoded labeling of the social processes.

Creative thought and the effort toward synthesis are integral parts of theoretical activity, and accordingly it is the mission of exchange of opinions to facilitate new conclusions that will better meet the demands of reality and contribute to the effective solution of the problems of progress in a given field.

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GH. AL. CAZAN: There is no question and this discussion also demonstrates that the problems of the relationship between revolutionary theory and social practice are by no means among the simpler ones. From the philosophical point of view, and not only from there, it appears extremely complicated and very difficult, and only a simplifying and simplistic representation, satisfied with its own reductionism, could imagine that another analysis of the relationship of theory with practice would mean forcing any open doors.

It is known, but perhaps not always in an appropriate way, that the theory-practice relationship has been the Achilles' heel of philosophical thought for several millennia. Marx himself succeeded in discovering the role and value of practice only after profound reflection upon philosophy and also upon some great social-political events of the modern period. Marx' path to theorizing the significance of practice in relation to theory and that of theory in relation to practice was largely a repetition of the path of philosophy in a concentrated form. In order to become worldly, or the philosophy of this world, philosophy had to abandon speculation, the separation of thought from the world, and the misrepresentation of practice as a purely mercenary and empirical activity.

I am making all these points because Marx' view of the relationship of theory and practice was and still is haunted by two errors, namely a pragmatistic error of absolutizing "practice" and ignoring theory under the guise of consideration for it, and a theoretic error which does the reverse by absolutizing "theory" and not denying practice but evading it as far as possible. Both errors are foreign to the spirit of Marxist thought and in their social-political applications they can have, and in fact have had, some of the most harmful effects. Moreover they lead to stagnation of theory and distortion of social-historical practice.

Furthermore an error that is usually unintentional but sometimes not lies in expressing agreement with Marx' view in principle while actually applying it in conflict with the spirit of the historical-materialist theory of the theory-practice relationship. This is because theory is reduced to the way it is interpreted, considering that interpretation absolutely valid, while only a certain practice is singled out of the entirety of practices and advanced as the only valid one.

And so the persistent question remains: What does it mean to consider and apply the historical and dialectical materialist conception of the theory-practice relationship creatively? Or in other words, how can the revolutionary theory be developed in confrontation with practice?

To confine the answer to the essential data without any extensive demonstration, although that is necessary, I think creative procedure first requires rejection of the nondialectical view that one practice alone represents all social-historical practice and that any given way of regarding theory represents theory itself. This makes it necessary to treat a given practice and a given theory as elements of diversity, and diversity as existing in unity -- not in any abstract unity, of course, but in a concrete unity. This view, clearly and repeatedly confirmed by the party secretary general, leads to elimination of relativism, subjectivism and the claim to a monopoly on the truth, while permitting the dialogue and creative development of both theory and practice.

OVIDIU TRASNEA: In view of the various attempts to distort Marxism from various standpoints, it seems legitimate to ask what Marxism is, and for the same reasons it must also be stated what it is not. For Marxism is not just what Marx succeeded in developing in a certain historical period and even less the tale quale application of principles taken out of their historical context and artificially absolutized, leading to a "caricature of Marxism" which Marx himself disowned (as Engels reported in a letter to Schmidt in August 1890) when he wrote about

some Frenchmen who declared themselves "Marxists" in 1870: "All I know is that they are not Marxist!" And so Marxism, like any truly scientific theory, is a process involving a necessary creative development in keeping with the historical evolution of the realities and of knowledge.

Furthermore Marxism is a living theory today, a social-political and ideological movement and a reality embodied by the socialist countries, a constantly evolving reality that can be improved. The influence of Marxism has been globalized in our period as a new qualitative stage in the development of the revolutionary theory, necessitating the effort to answer new and unprecedented questions and situations that Marx could not have foreseen. The historical and dialectical-materialist conception is proving to be the intellectual expression of the most powerful and active movement for revolutionary reform of our time.

GH. AL. CAZAN: In discussing the problems of creative development of the revolutionary theory in confrontation with practice I think we should stress a point that has in fact been brought up in some of the comments in various ways. It was mentioned, quite rightly, that in its structure and its spirit Marxism involves innovation, receptiveness and renovation of its concepts, principles and ideas. But this very characteristic of the Marxist spirit makes it necessary to scrutinize and reexamine Marx' legacy in depth and to confront it with the new realities of the world. And I would add that the very expression "creative development of the revolutionary theory" suggests consideration of the need to understand the relationship between the form and the substance of Marxism, between what is permanent and what is valid historically in Marx' works, between what remains valid and what is changing.

I mention all this because I do not think some of the present interpreters of the revolutionary theory distinguish between form and substance in Marxism or between different approaches to its problems. It is known, for example, that the relationships between social existence and social awareness, determinism and morality, base and superstructure, theory and practice etc. call for a general-philosophical resolution in principle. Of course it is a matter of the dialectical and materialist resolution of these relationships, a resolution that cannot be superseded and therefore remains eternal. In Marxist philosophy, social existence explains and determines social awareness, the base determines the superstructure, etc., while social awareness and the superstructure in turn affect the factors that determine them. In principle, such a resolution cannot be superseded because it is scientific. Actually an attempt to supersede it would mean a relapse into historical idealism.

But the same concepts can be analyzed beyond the basic problem of philosophy, that is in sociology, political economics etc., and therefore, beyond their epistemological resolution the relationship between them is other than one of determinant to determined. Consequently, beyond the materialist solution of the basic problem of philosophy, creativeness is possible and absolutely necessary. I would also note that when Marx discovered the existence of two kinds of relations characteristic of society, material relations and ideological relations, he offered philosophical thought the first objective criterion in its history for evaluating history in its entirety. Beyond this criterion, which is philosophical, both the material and the ideological relations are also susceptible to other investigative methods.

Consequently the substance of Marxism (by which I mean the historical and dialectical materialist solution of the basic problem of general philosophy and philosophy of history and the principles and spirit of the dialectical-materialist method) is eternal, while its form is historical. Therefore the form changes and must change according to the new social, economic, political, cultural and scientific facts. Confusing the substance with the form, telescoping them or failing to perceive them in their dialectical functions leads to either dogmatism or relativism.

The historical and dialectical materialist resolution of the above-mentioned relationships is generally valid for all periods. But the production methods, for example, are not the same, just as the ideologies are not general or the same in all periods either. Therefore it is the task of social thought to study the changes that take place in the various fields in order to discover the new contradictions and new regularities so that they may be controlled by man. Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned in his speech at the Mangalia Working Conference that the CPR is basing its activity on the historical and dialectical materialist theory, and he also pointed out that "We must arm the party and the entire people with a clear conception and a bright outlook that will give them the needed strength and power to overcome any difficulties and to get on with the CPR Program."

And so creativeness within Marxism is impossible, in the party secretary general's view, if it is outside and independent of the substance of the revolutionary conception of the world and life. But the substance does not include dogmatism or man's separation from reality by the "historical deceptions." On the contrary, it requires and is required by the true, perceptive history of man. The substance is eternal but not dogma, if it is also interpreted and applied as a methodology for investigating historical reality and social practice.

CATALIN ZAMFIR: Moreover Engels' prediction that materialism would change its form with every great scientific discovery has been unquestionably confirmed by the evolution of theoretical thought and by the development of historical and dialectical materialist philosophy.

ION TUDOSESU: The revolutionary theory of scientific socialism, conceived in the light of the most advanced traditions of modern dialectics and materialism and of the rationalist-objective spirit of the science of the period (itself in the process of radical revolutionary change) and based upon the interests of the proletariat (a class whose destiny was closely bound up with reform of all social relations and organizational structures of society, and of the whole world of values that accompanied those relations and structures), put an end to philosophical speculation and theoretical-ideological absolutizing. Therefore adherence to this conception and its adoption as a profession of ideological faith require a consistent option for theoretical and methodological receptiveness, for rejection of any dogmatic inclination or tendency to regulate free thought, and for meditation on the ever revolutionary spirit of practice and knowledge.

For Marxism always and especially for Marxism today, the truth is a process that can never be confined in set patterns. In his time Lenin masterfully demonstrated the necessity of regarding truth as a process and he himself inaugurated a new stage, characteristic of his period, in the development of Marxist philosophy, and he accordingly provided, for the very reason that he built an original Marxist philosophical construction, a solid methodological foundation for criticism of any previous or contemporary dogmatism and revisionism.



To go on with the idea emphasized in our discussion, I think historical and dialectical materialism can be creatively developed in our period in several ways, and of course all of them must be correlated. The first requirement is theoretical generalization of revolutionary experience and contemporary social practice. Mankind is confronted with some radical revolutionary changes, both in the stages reached by the revolutions for national liberation and by progress in noncapitalist economic and social development, and in the transition from capitalism to socialism and progress in construction of socialism and communism.

Then the current scientific data must be synthesized from the conceptual-philosophical standpoint. The scientific-technical revolution is confronting mankind today with new questions of scientific and technological thought and new conceptual directions. It demands changes in the patterns of knowledge and new fields of investigation calling for revolutionary changes in the methodology of knowledge and in the operational technologies. Moreover the Marxist philosophical methodology must be correlated with the new scientific methodologies like systemic-structural thought and the actionalist view of interpreting and substantiating the strategies of knowledge in the social and human sciences especially. I think the need is felt for restructuring the world of values and the present strategies for building the future, which requires an overall view of society at a time when man's contact with nature and society is having sometimes unforeseen consequences for the individual and society, especially since the human problems have changed radically in our times and new forms of alienation have appeared with new effects upon the human condition, making it necessary to approach the latter in accordance with the current requirements of the humanizing process.

CATALIN ZAMFIR: The communist and workers parties' experience in the fight against capitalism and for socialist construction is an essential source of the historical and dialectical materialist philosophy's development. The new conditions under which the socialist and communist movement is operating in the socialist, capitalist and "third world" countries present new problems and require further improvement in the interpretation of the evolution of contemporary society as well as development of new operational strategies. The CPR documents stress a highly important point about the relationship between the new social conditions and the structure of historical and dialectical materialist philosophy. The diverse conditions under which the revolutionary struggle of the working class and of all the democratic and progressive forces is conducted and the activity of the communist and workers parties naturally give rise to diverse opinions and viewpoints both in social-political and ideological practice and in theoretical reflection. Hence also the diverse ways of fighting capitalism and building socialist society.

The CPR believes every party has the sovereign right to determine its own political policy and the strategy and tactics of the working class in the respective country, enhancing its contribution to improvement of the revolutionary theory in accordance with the problems of development of each country and of the contemporary world as a whole. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "No one can know the economic facts or the balance and mechanism of the class forces in a given country, or the internal and international political situation and its evolution better than the Communist Party and the revolutionary and patriotic forces in the respective country. Therefore theirs is the sole right to determine the political policy, the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the working class, and the

combat methods... This right is indisputable because every Communist Party is responsible to the working class to which it belongs and to its own people."

In this connection, no one can claim the right or the ability to say the last word on the interpretation of social phenomena. And there are even less grounds for calling the effort of more and more parties to review some ideas and categories of the theory of scientific socialism critically (according to the lessons of their own experience and of contemporary revolutionary practice) and to find the best ways of conducting the revolutionary struggle an "inconsistency" or, even worse, "revisionism" or a reflection of "pressure of bourgeois, imperialist ideology." Further development of the revolutionary theory in keeping with the new demands of the period and the new economic, social and political conditions needs a scientific climate of free exchange of opinions and of research and investigation, and not of name-calling and labeling which, experience tells us, leads to blockage of creative Marxist thought and the progress of revolutionary practice.

It has been noted here that our century is also characterized by an unprecedented scientific explosion. The natural sciences (physics, chemistry and biology) have very rapidly accumulated many disciplines that can radically change our picture of the universe. The social-human sciences (sociology, political economics, psychology, social anthropology) have undergone nothing short of an explosive development. The historical and dialectical materialist conception has been developed intensively in the last few decades, actively assimilating the most general results from all fields of scientific knowledge. It is accordingly clear as can be that a diligent, constructive attitude, flexible and creative adjustment to the new conditions, the dynamic, creative character of the revolutionary theory and its enrichment with new social-political experience and scientific findings are crucial necessities upon which the effectiveness of the whole process of socialist construction and, of course, the world prestige of the socialist forces depend.

ACULIN CAZACU: The priorities in creative development of the revolutionary theory in confrontation with practice include, as it has been said, a review of the ontological principles of historical and dialectical materialism. But this equally productive and necessary procedure has some distinctive features in Romanian society, such as the unity of theory and practice and the close involvement of the analytical and generalizing models with the rapid changes that have taken place in the objective conditions of existence. The last few years have been marked by many existential changes both in the social and production relations and in the structures and superstructures of Romanian society. The expanded revolutionary process of building the new order and the complexity and interdependences of the contemporary world have resulted in new requirements and priorities. I refer to the developmental rates, the dialectics of relationships between industry and agriculture, the existential status of social labor, the system of socialist ownership, and the multiplicity of components of the new unified system of workers revolutionary democracy.

These changes call for an accelerated theoretical procedure, but generalization of experience in building the new society must not lag behind experience as such: a prospective aspect reflecting the unity of research, action and foresight is indispensable to the revolutionary spirit of the theory. Development of a "predictive ontology" can lend the theory not only the capacity to reflect the direct

realities appropriately but also the "traction power" in relation to practice that is so characteristic of the revolutionary spirit. Therefore I think we can and must treat a number of concepts such as those of development, new quality, participation, social leveling etc. not only from the standpoint of their function of reflecting some desirable realities but also from that of representing some possible and probable states of Romanian society's development. I feel that much remains to be done in order to enhance the explanatory power of the theory by supplementing analysis of the present realities with an investigation of the predictable consequences of implementing the programs for economic and social development. Supplemented by a prospective outlook, the explanatory procedure acquires more operational functions, offers alternatives, fosters discussion of ideas, and stimulates promotion of the new in thought and action.

Reconstruction of social ontology (including its prospective aspect) certainly does not mean abandoning historically verified principles, ideas or concepts. I also believe there are many substantive acquisitions of the revolutionary theory that have gained a permanent status and are constants of our conception. Innovation is no end in itself but a way of enhancing the theoretical structure with axiomatic values and a way of enriching the conceptual field on the basis of social practice and the facts of objective existence.

In this connection I attach particular significance and great value to the CPR's receptiveness to the bold approach to the new in its specific data and its historical particulars, just as it appears in the structures of experience in building the new society in Romania. The truly revolutionary theory is and can be only the product of regular confrontation with specific, historically determined practice understood in its particular progressive dynamism. We have extraordinary factual and existential accumulations that must be conceptualized and interpreted in their underlying trends with no special prejudice or any uncritical "transplant" of analytical methods developed elsewhere.

PETRU PANZARU: The living and diversified practice of socialist construction presents new and far-reaching problems for the revolutionary theory which cannot be evaded without great risks to the strategy and tactics of the struggle for socialism, and which must be formulated and treated within a system of priorities.

The principle of continuity of the revolutionary process in the stage of building the fully developed socialist society is one of the priority theoretical problems with important implications on the whole front of social practice. Proceeding consistently from the principles of historical and dialectical materialism and generalizing in theory their own experience acquired in the course of socialist revolution and construction, the CPR and its secretary general formulated the conclusion that the revolutionary process and "the revolutionary struggle were not over when the oppressing classes were overthrown and power was gained... but are continuing under the new historical conditions."

Of course in the present stage the revolutionary process is different from what it was in the previous stages and especially in the initial stage of a bitter class battle fought by the working class and its allies under party leadership to gain and consolidate political power. The revolutionary "battle" is continuing on all fronts of socialist construction, spurring both material and cultural activities. The revolutionary process in the present stage is distinguished by

its eminently constructive and creative character, the consistent, complete and synchronized implementation of all aims of the fully developed socialist society, improved social organization and management, and performances of higher quality in socioeconomic and political-educational activities. Essentially, the implementation of the basic aim of the present stage as formulated by the 12th Party Congress, namely Romania's transition to a new stage of development and attainment of a new quality of work and life in all fields, has a pronounced revolutionary character involving radical changes in the social existence and awareness of the members of Romanian socialist society. It is actually a matter of creating a new socioeconomic and human reality and a new man, imbued with socialist ideals and behaving in a consistently revolutionary, innovating and creative way.

There is no doubt that these new social facts urgently require new concepts, adjustment of the ideas and concepts to those facts, and new theoretical explanations and demonstrations. Until recently (and sometimes even today) the expression "socialist revolution and construction" was at least tacitly or implicitly taken to mean successive and separate processes, because once power was gained the revolutionary process had essentially accomplished its purpose and another process followed with another content, that of socialist construction. Now it is clear that they are two phases or stages of a single revolutionary process of a profoundly revolutionary and reforming character throughout its entire course.

Both in theory and in social practice the idea and operation of continuity of the revolutionary process must be inseparable from rejection of the superficial, idyllic and Utopian vision of automatic and rapid achievement of the aims of socialist society with no contradictions or serious difficulties. Socialist society's opposition in all respects (from the economic base and political organization to the kind of ideology, culture and social construction that it promotes) not only to the bourgeois order but also to all orders based on exploitation and domination of the majority indicates the degree of difficulty and complexity, the profoundly revolutionary nature, and the relatively long duration of the process of building the new society.

Our theoretical, ideological and political-educational work must help to clarify and interpret the fact that the socialist revolution is not "somewhere in the past," that it has not completed its mission, and that it is continuing in new forms with more far-reaching and difficult objectives and, as we have said, with an eminently creative, constructive character. The concept of the socialist revolution is thereby enriched and renovated, reflecting not only the period of the "battle at the barricades" to liquidate the exploiting classes and to smash the repressive bourgeois state organization, but also the long and hard period, fraught with contradictions, of basing all socioeconomic, institutional and mental activity upon socialism, a period of intensive and balanced development of the productive forces but also one of formation, development and promotion of the revolutionary humanistic values of socialist awareness.

CATALIN ZAMFIR: The idyllic, superficial picture of the socialist revolution, already analyzed critically and extensively at the Ninth Party Congress, could be called "automatic" because it led to the idea that the highly complex process of building the new order, representing the masses' purposeful creation, takes place automatically "in the best ways and with the most effective means." Actually this conception equates purposeful management with scientific management.



But the quality of management does not automatically follow from the fact that it is purposeful. Its effectiveness essentially depends on the knowledge that goes into it.

I think scientific management is to be understood as a process gradually accomplished by developing its mechanisms and constantly assimilating more and more new knowledge. Much has been written about scientific management in Romania. I wish to discuss one particular aspect of it here, namely the contribution of science and scientists to improved management of socialist society.

Romanian science has developed rapidly in the last 15-20 years. Highly qualified professional have been trained (a very important matter in itself, since as we know it takes no less than 10-15 years to train a good scientist), problems presented by practice of socialist construction in Romania have been formulated and are to be studied in depth, and major scientific findings have accumulated. Yet we cannot be satisfied with what has been accomplished so far. We can see that scientific research is still falling somewhat short of the requirements of practice, but it is important not only to make this simple finding but also to discover its causes and especially to act upon it.

I feel that science is called upon to perform at least three main functions, so to speak, in the management of Romanian society. First, it helps to correlate and enhance the practice of socialist construction in Romania theoretically and scientifically. The very pronounced dynamism of the process of building the new order has overtaken many of the theoretical formulas devised under other conditions of time and space. Analysis of the acquired experience, the successes and failures, and the favorable as well as unfavorable aspects are constants of the practical social management process. Accordingly science can make its contribution as an aid to better understanding of the process as a whole and to improve as well as the world's knowledge of the results obtained in Romania. Second, I have the informative role of science in mind. It must convey, to a greater extent and in a variety of ways, the knowledge acquired in both national and worldwide science as well as empirical data on the Romanian situation and current social processes that it has collected by the means at its disposal.

And finally, science also has an exploratory function. Romania's socioeconomic development is not a simple or linear process. New and difficult problems keep arising, and the general or particular conditions under which it operates keep changing, so that all of them must be investigated and provided for in advance. Science can and must contribute to this process more and more effectively. Furthermore, as the party secretary general has repeatedly pointed out, the scientists must always consider alternative solutions to the new problems, analyze their advantages and disadvantages, and offer the decision-makers a wide range of possible options.

NITA DOBROTA: Historical and dialectical materialism was created and steadily developed as an impassioned appeal for creative analysis of the social realities and the peoples' living and working conditions. This approach is both a right and a duty of the revolutionary parties and a general rule of social thought and practice, as Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out.

In this context, evaluation of the fundamental concepts of historical materialism on the basis and in the light of the increasingly complex and changing realities has a place apart. I agree with the idea Prof Ion Tudosescu expressed in the

first part of our discussion, that "The social system could be regarded not only as a systemic complex of social relations (stratified according to the primacy of the material over the intellectual) but also as a systemic complex of social actions,"\* and I should like to stress the point that the problem of ordering and subordinating the various categories of social activities and of determining the essential and functional relations among them, as one of the general-human trends, is particularly acute at present, in close connection with the many direct and indirect effects of the current technical-scientific revolution and against the background of the historical revolutionary process of man's transition from capitalism to socialism.

The formulation of the problem of the many correlations of social activities on the functional and dynamic level also has another significance. More and more western theorists are now advocating a systemic treatment of human activities, sometimes conveying the impression that that approach was discovered by them only a few years ago and that they are the main promoters of such an interpretation of the human condition. For example, in the widely circulated work "The Limits to Growth" it says even in the introduction that the authors' intention "is to promote understanding of the varied but interdependent components (economic, political, natural and social) that make up the general system in which we are all living." (Donella H. Meadows, Dennis L. Meadows et al., "The Limits to Growth," New York, Universe Book [sic], 1972, p 8) It should be noted here that by applying dialectical materialism to the study of society, the authors of the revolutionary theory gave sound and scientifically substantiated answers to the foregoing questions, which the authors of "The Limits to Growth" say they are posing for the first time. On behalf of scientific honesty we note that in regard to the said problem the Marxist authors are holding not only the historical but also the methodological trump card, which they can use and are obligated to develop.

In the contemporary Marxist view, human action is a comprehensive system completely correlating a multitude of objective and subjective social factors on the principle of reverse connection. In the structure of the social action system all those factors and all kinds of social activities are integrated in an operational mechanism of maximum effectiveness. Since it is a matter of human action and of measuring its effectiveness, the approach to it can be only a predominantly operational-dynamic one.

ION TUDOYESCU: I should like to bring up an idea for discussion that was just suggested to me by the previous comments. If it is granted that all creative activities are effective for the productive process, I do not think there could be any difficulty either in accepting the fact that any effective human activity is productive. In other words, I do not think the term "nonproductive work" makes sense because the idea of work cannot be confined to activity producing material goods. But in the way this term is used I think it operates only within certain limits, that is only if the problem is viewed from the standpoint of a strategy of economic priorities within the sectorial division of social labor (into primary, secondary and tertiary sectors) when high economic growth rates must be secured, especially in the developing countries, which are trying, in a relatively short time, to reach the quotas of countries with average and then higher levels of economic development.

\*ERA SOCIALISTA No 15, 1983, p 29.

But even under those circumstances it is increasingly clear that not only the activities in the primary sector (in the industries for extracting raw materials and producing new energy sources, agriculture and zootechnology, that is cultivating the soil and stock raising) and the secondary sector (in the industries processing raw materials and energy sources, machine building or constructions in general) but also those in the tertiary sector (in the services field, which includes a wide range of activities from transportation and trade to research, artistic creation, health protection, education, culture, administration and organization) qualify as productive work. The activities in those three sectors are so completely interdependent that inefficiency in the tertiary sector, for example, makes productive activity in the other two sectors inefficient.

By the same token, if scientific and technological research or material production organization are also considered productive (or at least "indirectly" productive) work, I think possibly social-political activity, medicine, health protection, education and instruction should have the same status. Nor do I think the terms "directly" or "indirectly" productive work make very good sense, as if "production" of the individual, namely his formation as a personality and an agent of social action, or "production" of social relations and organizational structures were not creative activities directly affecting people and society.

NITA DOBROTA: Of course people's activities are highly comprehensive and continually diversified. The verb "to work" covers a wide variety of specific activities in material production (The list of trades in countries with modern economies bears that out) as well as a multitude of other activities, political, scientific, artistic, cultural, rendering various services, etc.

In this connection, the concept of a socioeconomic unit comprises three main categories of relationships in which the individual participates as a controlling factor. Unfortunately, however, some surveys present them abstractly, apart from their socioeconomic and political content, whereas actually they invariably have a well-defined content. I think these relationships can be briefly presented as follows: those between man and nature, which man changes to suit his purposes (the productive forces); those among people in the process of producing use values, or material goods and the services to meet people's material needs (relations of production or the economic base); and those among people in the process of meeting the intellectual needs originating in the objective conditions of human existence (the superstructure).

The foregoing relationships interact in the causal chain of social activities, wherein production of material goods and the historically determined production method are the most important. Historical materialism tells us that the productive forces play a decisive part in the production method but they do not directly determine the socioeconomic unit. That function is performed by the production relations as a form of a certain developmental stage of society's productive forces and as the essence of the corresponding superstructure.

The structure of the social unit also includes the group structure of the population.

As a distinct level of social activity, the superstructure goes beyond the ideal and the elements of social awareness, although it is subjective and formed in passing through the awareness. It includes social institutions whereby the ideas

are manifested and become "material forces" that increasingly influence all the other areas of social existence. These institutions become important instruments in the efforts of the various social classes to promote their vital interests. Use of the institutions involves class antagonisms in the societies based on private ownership. This interpretation of the superstructure's active role is the turntable on which the transition is made from the structural-static to the functional-dynamic in the treatment of human behavior.

Social action in its entirety is the general background of this view and of the resolution of the correlations between the various kinds of human action, which can be only social. It is a matter of the social practice of production, revolutionary activity, political, cultural-artistic and educational action, the activity of transforming or forming the agent of the social action (wherein the subject himself is the object), ideological activity, the action of managing the various social groups and economic structures, etc. In the first place, the growing role of the subjective factor in social development has its origin in the rational and effective integration of all fields of social action. Therefore the role of the subjective as a transforming agent is more and more striking from both the cognitive and the practical standpoints. In the second place, in such an approach it is necessary to determine the roles of the various kinds of activity in evolution, on the continuous trajectory of technical, economic and social-political progress. In clarifying this point, the principles of historical materialism are an invaluable methodological guide to investigation of the contemporary realities.

As for the concept of the production method, I agree with the extension of the concept to productive activities other than those peculiar to the material production process, but I feel that the broad "opening" of the concept to include absolutely all the categories of activity with all their manifested effects (structures, works of art, demographic processes, etc.) is a question that would call for a fuller discussion, such as we have already entered upon. Moreover we think that an even larger number of production methods (The literature operates with several kinds of them as it is) could weaken the meaning and cognitive value of our broad concept of a production method.

NICOLAE CULIC: The all-inclusive theoretical view of the progress of the social unit is a highly important theoretical question arising from the CPR's conception. As it has been pointed out here, it is not limited to consideration of the degree of development of the of the productive forces or the nature of the production relations in determining the developmental level of a social unit. It also involves the developmental level of social awareness and the cultural living standard of Romanian society, and accordingly the advancement of all aspects and fields of social activity as well as their organic unity and harmonious development, since underrating any one field leads to discrepancies, contradictions and stagnation.

In this connection I should like to point out the emphasis the party places upon construction of a harmonious and uniform system of values of Romanian socialist society, wherein the individual and establishment of new systemic relations between him and the community come first, as contrasted with the other orders. An increasingly important part in this is played by the ethical values, demonstrating that moral relations have also become an object of purposeful construction



in the new order. The Code of Standards of Socialist Ethics and Equity formulated the essential obligations of individuals and social groups and the values, attitudes and habits to be promoted and developed (sincerity, modesty, sense of responsibility in work and life, patriotism and the advanced attitude toward work), as well as the attitudes, prejudices and backward habits to be eliminated (insincerity, parasitism, selfishness and hypocrisy).

The importance attached to the moral values and principles of socialist ethics and equity is indicative of the CPR's scientific view of the main trend in the evolution of the system of values in Romanian society. Creation of the human values and needs in the stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism requires development of the moral values, because they have and will have a central position in the structure of the way of life.

Of course the changes the new order is making in the system of values involve not only generalization of the moral values, which will gradually become the basic motivation of all social behavior, but also correlation of the legal and political values with the moral ones. This brings out the CPR's original view that the political and political activity are the main humanizing means and the value upon which the other values are focused. Therefore there is a trend in Romanian socialist society toward a synthesis of values, stemming from coordination of the values with the social ideal without negating the individuality of the various kinds of values. The CPR is attaching increasing importance to synthesis of the political, the legal, the aesthetic and the scientific because it will result in the complete fulfillment of human nature.

And finally, equity is a concept that has acquired new meanings in the CPR's documents. These meanings are the product of generalizing the changes in society and of abolishing exploitation and social inequality. Equity expresses Romanian society's concern for providing all its members with equal opportunities in all social relations and activities, while making exercise of the rights dependent upon fulfillment of some corresponding obligations.

The CPR regards socialist equity not only as a phase in the advancement of the individual and his freedom but also as a process of harmonizing individual behavior progressively with the general social relations through the human relations. The complete fulfillment of social equity under socialism involves formation of the fully developed personality as a characteristic component of the process of building fully developed socialism and also as a prerequisite of it.

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CSO: 2700/73

SUCCESSSES, SHORTCOMINGS OF PATRIOTIC GUARDS REVIEWED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Dec 83 p 5

[Article: "Convocation-Review Session of the Activ of the Basic Cadres in the General Staffs of the Patriotic Guards"]

[Excerpts] On 21-22 December 1983 the convocation-review session of the activ of the basic cadres in the general staffs of the Patriotic Guards was held in Bucharest.

The convocation presented the increasing contribution made to economic and social development during 1983, as well as the important successes achieved in the process of combat training, political and educational training and training for action, by millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals--men and women, regardless of nationality, members of the Patriotic Guards who, as owners, producers, beneficiaries, and protectors, combine, in a natural and necessary manner, the activity of production, research, creation and education, with responsible training for guarding the revolutionary achievements, sovereignty and independence of the country. During 1983, the Patriotic Guards increased the number of their combat forces and consolidated extensively from an organizational point of view. They took important measures to increase the capability for action and intervention, to deepen cooperation and collaboration with units of the armed forces and with other components of the national defense system, and to support the military instruction of youth formations, thus contributing substantially to ensuring that localities, enterprises and other socioeconomic units will be real strongholds of revolutionary education, for labor, war, and defense.

There was a profound analysis, in the spirit of strict communist requirements, in accordance with the demands of the party documents and the directive of the Supreme Command, of both the successes achieved and some deficiencies and shortfalls manifested, as well as the need to eliminate these defects in the coming year and the means for the continued perfecting of the instructional and educational process. Deficiencies were noted, in particular, in the quality of the activity of some general staffs and subunits. There were certain shortfalls in the development of the material base for instruction through the self-supply system. The spirit of creativity, order, discipline and responsibility has not reached the level of current requirements in all combat collectives.

In light of the views of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the danger to the cause of peace presented by current developments in international political and military life, the participants in the convocation expressed their firm desire to do all they could so that, along with executing, in an exemplary manner, the great socioeconomic objectives of the fourth year of the five-year plan in regard to quality and efficiency, the Patriotic Guards, elevating themselves to a higher level of combat force, would be able, under any circumstances, to fulfill, unceasingly, their sacred duty to defend the country.

Comrade Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, spoke at the end of the session, stressing the principal direction of the effort and the tasks assigned to the party organs and organizations, the general staffs, the commanders of subunits and the political instructors for the perfecting of the training of the patriotic guards in the coming year. The speaker stressed the need to consolidate the achievements obtained, to firmly eliminate deficiencies of any type, as well as any manifestations of superficiality and routine, to continue to improve the organizational framework of the patriotic guards, to form some thoroughly trained fighters, who are good and very good operators of the weapons provided to them, to raise the process of education and instruction to superior levels of efficiency, to strengthen discipline, order and responsibility, to expand close collaboration with military units and with other defense formations by organizing a greater number of joint actions, to perfect the work style and methods and management activity at all levels, to ensure, under all circumstances, that the combatants wearing the tri-color shield will be people with a progressive moral and political character, who will always put general interests first and will defend socialist property with a high sense of responsibility.

CSO: 2700/110

CHANGES IN NATIONALITY STRUCTURE IN KOSOVO, 1961-1981

Belgrade OPSTINA in Serbo-Croatian No 8-9, Aug-Sep 83 pp 83-104

[Article by Zivojin Krzalic: "Changes in the Size and Ethnic Composition of the Population of SAP Kosovo Over the Last 20 Years (1961-1981)--by Opstinas and Settlements"]

[Text] According to the figures of the last population census, which was conducted as of 31 March 1981, the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] Kosovo had a population of 1,584,441. Relative to 1948, when our first postwar census was conducted, the population of this province of ours had increased by 851,407 (index number 216). Over that same period the population of Yugoslavia increased 42.2 percent, that of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia 42.7 percent, and that of Serbia proper 37.6 percent.

Such sizable changes were influenced most by the high natural population growth, which over the period under consideration amounted to 986,852, with an average rate of 27.5 pro mille. The rate of natural population growth in SAP Kosovo is more than twice as great as the average rate in Yugoslavia, which was 12 pro mille, and more than three times as great as the average rate in Serbia proper, which was 8.6 pro mille.

SAP Kosovo is predominantly inhabited by Albanians and Serbs, and inhabitants of other nationalities have far smaller representation. Up until 1961 there were no very significant changes in the composition of the population with respect to nationality. The relative relationships in the share of members of the various nationalities and ethnic minorities were not undergoing any essential change. In 1953 there was a slight drop in the share of Muslims [ethnic] (from 1.4 percent to 0.8 percent) and Albanians (from 67.9 percent to 64.3 percent). At the same time the share of Turks was increasing (from 0.2 percent to 4.2 percent). The reason certainly lies in differences in the census procedure for declaration of nationality. In 1961 the share of Gypsies dropped from 1.5 percent to 0.3 percent, and for the first time individuals declared themselves to be Yugoslavs. Their number is 5,206, or 0.5 percent.

We will show changes in the size and ethnic composition of the population over the postwar period in the following table.

Population of SAP Kosovo and Its Ethnic Composition (as of the date of the census<sup>1</sup>)

	<u>1948</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
Number of Inhabitants					
Total	733,034	815,908	963,988	1,243,693	1,584,441
Montenegrins	28,066	31,367	37,588	31,555	27,028
Croats	5,302	6,219	7,251	8,264	8,718
Muslims	10,039	6,775	8,026	26,357	58,562
Serbs	176,718	197,033	227,016	228,264	209,498
Albanians	498,244	524,562	646,605	916,168	1,226,736
Gypsies	11,230	11,904	3,202	14,593	34,126
Turks	1,320	34,590	25,764	12,244	12,513
Other	2,115	3,253	3,047	3,297	2,814
Persons who did not declare their nationality:					
Under Article 170 of the constitution	--	--	--	177	133
Yugoslavs	--	--	5,206	920	2,676
Regional allegiance	--	--	--	259	264
Unknown	... <sup>2</sup>	208	283	1,595	1,373
Composition, %					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Montenegrins	3.9	3.8	3.9	2.5	1.7
Croats	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6
Muslims	1.4	0.8	0.8	2.1	3.7
Serbs	24.1	24.2	23.6	18.3	13.2
Albanians	67.9	64.3	67.1	73.7	77.4
Gypsies	1.5	1.5	0.3	1.2	2.1
Turks	0.2	4.2	2.7	1.0	0.8
Other	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2
Persons who did not declare their nationality:					
Under Article 170 of the constitution	--	--	--	0.0	0.0
Yugoslavs	--	--	0.5	0.1	0.2
Regional allegiance	--	--	--	0.0	0.0
Unknown	... <sup>2</sup>	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1

<sup>1</sup> The figures were published in Bulletin No 1295 of the Federal Bureau of Statistics in May 1982. In 1948 and 1953 figures were also added for



After 1961 the rate of natural population growth in SAP Kosovo has been increasing over the previous period, while in other parts of SR Serbia it has been dropping off significantly. This is clearly evident from the table below:

Rates of Natural Population Growth, pro mille

	<u>1948-1952</u>	<u>1953-1960</u>	<u>1961-1970</u>	<u>1971-1980</u>
Serbia proper	14.2	11.3	7.0	6.1
SAP Vojvodina	10.9	8.8	5.2	3.5
SAP Kosovo	24.8	27.0	28.7	27.3

The high rate of natural population growth in Kosovo is brought about above all by the birth rate, which over the entire period from 1948 to 1980 did not fall between 29 pro mille. However, it was also significantly influenced by the drop in the death rate, above all the drop in the infant mortality rate.

The results of the 1971 and 1981 Population Censuses show that in Kosovo there was a large growth of the total population after 1961 under the influence of high natural population growth rates. Between 1961 and 1971 the population grew by 279,705, or 29 percent, and between 1971 and 1981 it grew by 340,748, or 27.4 percent. Simultaneously there was also an appreciable shift in the ethnic composition of the population. There was a significant decrease, both absolute and relative, in the share of the Serbian and Montenegrin population and Turks, and at the same time an increase in the share of the population of Albanian nationality, Muslims and Gypsies. The share of Serbs dropped from 23.6 percent in 1961 to 18.3 percent in 1971 and 13.2 percent in 1981. The share of Montenegrins dropped from 3.9 percent to 2.5 percent and 1.7 percent in the respective years. The share of Albanians increased from 67.1 percent in 1961 to 73.7 percent in 1971 and 77.4 percent in 1981. The share of Muslims increased from 0.8 percent to 2.1 percent and 3.7 percent in the respective years, and the share of Gypsies from 0.3 percent to 1.2 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively. The number of Turks dropped both absolutely and relatively from 25,764, or 2.7 percent, in 1961 to 12,244, or 1 percent, in 1971, and 12,513, or 0.8 percent, in 1981. The number of members of other nationalities stayed at the same level of about 3,000, or, in percentage, at about 0.3 and 0.2 percent. The number of inhabitants declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs was 5,206, or 0.5 percent, in 1961 and 2,676, or 0.2 percent, in 1981.

As we have already said, over those 20 years there was a significant drop, both absolute and relative, in the share of Serbs and Montenegrins in the population of Kosovo. This phenomenon can be attributed above all to the process of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins, which over that period was very intensive as a consequence of psychological and other pressures, which

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settlements annexed to SAP Kosovo from the territory of Serbia proper after the census.

2 Included in "Other."

became especially widespread after 1968, when there were serious irredentist outbreaks in Kosovo.

Using the figures of the three successive population censuses and the vital statistics on the number of births and deaths, the following table gives the calculation that shows the size of that emigration:

#### Size of the Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins

		<u>Serbs</u>	<u>Montenegrins</u>
Period 1961-1971			
Size of the population	1961	227,016	37,588
	1971	228,264	31,555
Growth--reduction		1,248	-6,033
Natural population growth	(1961-1970)	43,106	7,979
Net migration (+ -)		-14,858	-14,002
Period 1971-1981			
Size of the population	1971	228,264	31,555
	1981	209,498	27,028
Growth--reduction		-18,766	-4,527
Natural population growth	(1971-1980)	31,573	1,895
Net migration (+ -)		-50,339	-6,422

Over the last 20 years 92,197 more Serbs and 20,242 more Montenegrins moved out of Kosovo than moved in.

In order to examine more closely the consequences of this process for quite small regional entities, in the text below we will survey the changes in the size and ethnic composition of the population by opstinas and settlements.

#### Changes by Opstinas and Settlements

Over the 20-year period (from 1961 to 1981) the total population of SAP Kosovo increased by 620,453, or 64.4 percent. The number of Albanians increased 580,105 (89.7 percent), the number of Serbs and Montenegrins decreased by 28,078 (10.6 percent), and the number of members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities increased by 68,426 (129.7 percent). In just two opstinas did the number of Serbs and Montenegrins show an increase. Those are Pristina Opstina with an increase of 11,398 (29.3 percent) and Gnjilane Opstina with a token increase of only 240 inhabitants (1.3 percent). The largest procentual decrease in the number of Serbs and Montenegrins occurred in those opstinas where their number was smallest in 1961. Those are the opstinas: Glogovac, Dragas, Kacanik, Decani, Srbica, Podujevo, Suva Reka, Djakovica and Orahovac. In 1981 the census recorded 482,459 inhabitants in those 9 opstinas, which in 1961 had a total population of 293,844. The increase was 188,615, or 64.2 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins in 1961 was 31,918, while in 1981 only 17,367 were recorded in the census, which means that their number dropped 14,551, or 45.6 percent. In those nine opstinas the number of Serbs and Montenegrins is today only 3.6 percent of the total population.

Using the figures of two successive censuses by opstinas and settlements (1961 and 1981), we will give a survey for each opstina separately.

#### Glogovac Opstina

The population of this opstina increased from 22,044 in 1961 to 40,514 in 1981, or 83.8 percent. Over the same period the number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 599 to 32, or 94.7 percent. Since there are only 35 members of other nationalities in the opstina, it can be said with confidence that in 1981 the opstina is exclusively inhabited by population of the Albanian nationality.

There were Serbs and Montenegrins in 15 settlements in 1961 but in only 7 settlements in 1981. The following changes have occurred in the settlements which had an appreciable number of Serbs and Montenegrins in 1961:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Glogovac	124	19	709	2,416
Koromane	122	3	891	2,165
Novo Cikatovo	158	2	200	825
Poklek	<u>102</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>364</u>	<u>973</u>
Total	506	24	2,164	6,379

In the other 4 settlements there were only 8 Serbs and Montenegrins in 1981, while in 1961 there were 53 of them.

Serbs and Montenegrins moved out entirely from the following settlements over the past 20 years: Banjica, Vasiljevac, Gladno Selo, Globare, Dobrosevac, Krajko, Lapusnik, Orlate, Poklek, Trpeza and Trstenik.

#### Dragas Opstina

The population of the opstina was 21,028 in 1961 and 35,054 in 1981, which means an increase of 66.7 percent. In 1981 there were 18,623 Albanians in the total population, 15,942 Muslims, 114 Serbs and Montenegrins, and 375 members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities.

In 1961 the Serbs and Montenegrins lived in 16 settlements, and there were in all 194 of them. Today they live in only 13 settlements, and their total number is 114, 73 of them in Dragas, the opstina seat.

Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved entirely out of the following settlements: Brodasovce, Dikance, Zli Potok, Krstac, Lestane, Mlike and Orcusa.

## Kacanik Opstina

The population increased from 19,735 in 1961 to 31,072 in 1981, or 57 percent. Over the same period the number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 885 to 311, or 64.9 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 18,561 to 30,406, or 63.8 percent. In 1981 there were only 355 members of other nationalities in the opstina.

The opstina has 42 settlements. The one with the largest population is Kacanik, the opstina seat, with a population of 6,662 according to the 1981 Census. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 16 settlements (885), but in 1981 in only 6 settlements (311). The following changes have occurred over the last 20 years in settlements which in 1961 had an appreciable number of Serbs and Montenegrins:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Bob	24	--	494	1,061
Gorance	69	--	490	626
Eleza	47	--	132	308
Djeneral Jankovic	278	36	354	1,847
Kacanik	118	27	2,743	6,450
Reka	30	11	269	847
Stari Kacanik	<u>306</u>	<u>235</u>	<u>517</u>	<u>1,137</u>
Total	872	309	4,999	12,276

While the number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped to nearly one-third of what it had been in these seven settlements, the number of Albanians increased 2.5-fold.

Over the last 20 years Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out entirely from the following settlements: Belogradce, Vicevac, Bob, Gorance, Doganovic, Drenoglava, Dubrava, Necevce, Straza, Djurdjev Dol, Eleza, Kovacevac and Laniste. There are Albanians living in all settlements in the opstina.

## Decani Opstina

The opstina had a population of 25,582 in 1961 and 40,640 in 1981. The increase was 15,058, or 58.9 percent. Over the same period the number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 2,947 to 1,232, or 61.6 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 22,477 to 39,179, or 79.3 percent. In 1981 there were only 329 members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities.

The opstina has 40 settlements. The settlements with the largest population were Junik (4,543) and Decani (3,280). In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins living in 33 settlements, but in 1981 only 27. The following changes had occurred by 1981 in settlements which in 1961 had an appreciable number of Serbs and Montenegrins:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Dasinovac	291	112	109	292
Decani	465	435	1,325	2,739
Junik	372	40	2,619	4,501
Locane	200	105	386	586
Papracane	232	61	306	780
Rznic	<u>104</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>782</u>	<u>1,416</u>
Total	1,664	766	5,527	10,314

While the number of Serbs and Montenegrins in these settlements dropped to less than half, the number of Albanians doubled.

Over the 20 years all the Serbs and Montenegrins moved out of the following settlements: Gornja Luka, Jasic, Ljubuse, Papic and Pobrdje. There are Albanians living in all settlements in the opstina.

#### Srbica Opstina

The population of the opstina increased from 30,479 in 1961 to 46,927 in 1981, or 54 percent. Over the same period the number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 3,363 to 1,240, or 63.1 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 26,878 to 45,504, or 69.3 percent. In 1981 the opstina had only 183 inhabitants belonging to other nationalities.

The opstina has 50 settlements. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 31 of them, but in 1981 in only 15. Most of the Serbs and Montenegrins live in the following four settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Banja	597	338	39	32
Rudnik	423	178	487	1,262
Srbica	480	222	477	2,547
Suvo Grlo	<u>215</u>	<u>193</u>	<u>276</u>	<u>374</u>
Total	1,715	931	1,279	4,215

The other 11 settlements had a very small number of Serbs and Montenegrins-- 6 settlements less than 20, 2 settlements between 21 and 50, 2 settlements with between 51 and 100, and 1 settlement with between 101 and 200.

Over the 20 years all the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the following settlements: Boks, Brocna, Vitak, Gornje Prekaze, Gornji Obilic, Donje Obrinje, Donje Prekaze, Donji Obilic, Lausa, Likovac, Ljubovac, Makrmalj, Mikusnica, Padaliste, Pluzina, Rezela, Turicevac, Poljence and Cirez. There were Albanians living in all settlements in the opstina.



In 1961 there were 68 Serbs and Montenegrins living in the settlement Novo Selo, but not a single Albanian. In 1981 there were 150 Albanians in the village, and not a single Serb or Montenegrin.

#### Podujevo Opstina

The opstina had a population of 51,516 in 1961 and 75,437 in 1981. The increase was 23,921, or 46.4 percent. The opstina is inhabited by Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins, while there are only 488 members of other nationalities. After Glogovac Opstina this opstina has had the largest procentual decrease in the number of Serbs and Montenegrins over the last 20 years. Their number dropped from 9,657 to 2,857, or 70.4 percent. The number of Albanians increased from 41,607 to 72,092, or 73.3 percent. The share of Serbs and Montenegrins in the population dropped from 18.7 percent to 3.8 percent, while the share of Albanians increased from 80.8 percent to 95.6 percent.

The opstina has 78 settlements. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 67 of them, but in 1981 they were in 53. Almost two-thirds of the total number of Serbs and Montenegrins lived in the following seven settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Donja Dubnica	813	244	1,050	2,377
Livadica	206	83	--	125
Obrandza	251	79	795	1,058
Orlane	388	68	875	1,144
Perane	142	103	415	662
Podujevo	1,944	1,088	2,838	14,423
Repa	<u>321</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>191</u>	<u>429</u>
Total	4,065	1,737	6,164	20,218

The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped 57.3 percent in these settlements, while the number of Albanians more than tripled.

What has been happening with those settlements in which Serbs and Montenegrins live is evident from the following table:

<u>Grouping of Settlements by Number of Serbs and Montenegrins</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Total	67	33
Less than 20	9	26
21-50	10	12
51-100	14	12
101-200	21	1
201-300	7	1
301 or more	6	1

Serbs and Montenegrins have moved entirely out of the following settlements over the last 20 years: Baraina, Bradas, Glavnik, Donje Ljupce, Duz, Krusevica, Letance, Lug, Majance, Rakinica and Trnavica. Albanians are living in all settlements in the opstina.

#### Suva Reka Opstina

The total population increased from 34,729 in 1961 to 59,434 in 1981. The increase was 24,705, or 71.1 percent. Over the same period the number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 4,252 to 3,595, or 15.5 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 30,257 to 55,640, or 83.9 percent. The opstina has only 199 inhabitants belonging to other nationalities.

There have been significant changes in the composition of the population. The share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 12.2 percent to only 6 percent, and the share of Albanians increased from 87.1 percent to 93.6 percent.

The opstina has 50 settlements. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 29 settlements, but in 1981 they were in only 14 settlements.

The Serbs and Montenegrins live predominantly in the following four settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Dvorane	495	370	23	64
Delovce	277	298	310	292
Musutiste	1,344	1,178	1,467	2,984
Suva Reka	<u>595</u>	<u>584</u>	<u>2,070</u>	<u>5,940</u>
Total	2,711	2,430	3,870	9,280

The number of Serbs and Montenegrins in these settlements dropped 10.4 percent, while the number of Albanians increased almost 2.5-fold.

Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out to the greatest extent from settlements in which they had a small representation. In 1961 there were 19 settlements in which the number of Serbs and Montenegrins did not exceed 100, and in 1981 there were only 4 of them. Over the 20 years all the Serbs and Montenegrins moved out of the following settlements: Budakovo, Bukos, Vranic, Geljance, Guncat, Dulje, Djinovce, Kravosarija, Ladrovac, Ladrovic, Luznica, Rastane, Samodraza, Semetiste, Senik, Studencane and Trnje. The Albanians did not move out of a single settlement.

#### Djakovica Opstina

The population of the opstina increased from 53,270 in 1961 to 92,203 in 1981, or 73.1 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 4,985 to 3,851, or 22.7 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 47,864 to 87,588, or 83 percent. In 1981 there were only 764 inhabitants belonging to other nationalities.

Considerable changes have occurred in the composition of the population. The share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 9.4 to 4.2 percent, and the share of Albanians increased from 89.9 percent to 95 percent.

The opstina has 83 settlements. Djakovica is largest with 42,031 inhabitants, comprising 45.6 percent of the opstina's population. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 71 settlements, while in 1981 they were in only 40 settlements. The largest number of Serbs and Montenegrins live in Djakovica itself (3,294), while there were only 557 in all the other 39 settlements, giving an average of 14 per settlement. Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have all moved out of the following settlements:

Babaj Boks, Bardonic, Vogovo, Goden, Gornje Novo Selo, Guska, Deva, Dobros, Dolj, Donje Novo Selo, Dujak, Zabelj, Zub, Kosare, Kusar, Kusevac, Lipovac, Mece, Osek Pasa, Panosevac, Popovac, Radonjic, Rakovina, Rakoc, Ramoc, Raskoc, Rogovo, Smac, Stubla, Traleanic, Cerim, Firaja, Firza, Nivokaz and Sisman. The Albanians did not move out of a single settlement

#### Orahovac Opstina

The total population increased from 35,461 in 1961 to 61,178 in 1981, or 72.5 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped over the same period from 5,036 to 4,235, or 15.9 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 30,123 to 56,391, or 87.2 percent. There were 302 inhabitants belonging to other nationalities in 1961 and 552 in 1981.

Considerable changes have occurred in the composition of the population. The share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 14.2 to 6.9 percent, while the share of Albanians increased from 84.9 to 92.2 percent.

The opstina has 55 settlements. The largest is Orahovac with 13,134 inhabitants. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 32 settlements, but in 1981 only 12. Most of them were in the following three settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Velika Hoca	1,157	1,247	25	38
Zociste	297	398	414	730
Orahovac	<u>1,857</u>	<u>2,178</u>	<u>5,450</u>	<u>10,515</u>
Total	3,311	3,823	5,889	11,283

The number of Serbs and Montenegrins in these settlements increased 15.5 percent, while the number of Albanians increased 91.6 percent.

The Serbs and Montenegrins moved out in greatest numbers from settlements in which they had quite small representation. These were mainly settlements in which there were fewer than 100 of them. In 1961 there were 24 such settlements, but in 1981 only 8.

Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved entirely out of the following settlements: Bela Crkva, Brestovac, Bublje, Gedje, Goracevo, Dobri Dol, Domanek, Drenovac, Zatric, Kramovik, Ljubizda, Malisevo, Ostrozub, Petkovic, Ponorac, Radoste, Saros, Turjak, Ciflak and Cupevo. The Albanians did not move out of a single settlement.

#### Vucitrn Opstina

The population of the opstina increased from 39,779 in 1961 to 65,512 in 1981, or 64.7 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 9,732 to 6,472, or 33.5 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 28,767 to 57,351, or 99.4 percent. There were only 1,280 inhabitants belonging to other nationalities in 1961 and 1,689 in 1981.

There have been substantial changes in the composition of the population. The share of Serbs and Montenegrins has dropped from 24.5 percent to 9.9 percent, and the share of Albanians has increased from 72.3 percent to 87.5 percent.

The opstina has 67 settlements. The largest is Vucitrn with a population of 20,204. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 55 settlements, but in 1981 only 39. Most of them were in the following five settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Vucitrn	1,510	1,188	5,551	17,903
Gojbulja	482	420	--	--
Grace	565	515	13	2
Priluzje	1,099	1,751	89	60
Novo Selo-Madzunsko	482	298	651	1,389
Total	4,138	4,172	6,304	19,354

Priluzje is the only settlement in the opstina where there was an increase in the number of Serbs and Montenegrins. Otherwise, the following changes occurred in settlements where Serbs and Montenegrins are living:

<u>Grouping of Settlements by Number of Serbs and Montenegrins</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Total	55	39
Less than 20	9	8
21-50	9	9
51-100	10	8
101-200	13	9
201-300	5	1
301 or more	9	4

Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved entirely out of the following settlements: Balince, Bencuk, Becic, Bosljane, Galica, Gornja

Dubnica, Gornja Sudimlja, Dobra Luka, Donja Dubnica, Jezero, Kunovik, Lug Dubnica, Okrastica, Osljane, Pasoma, Slavkovce, Strovce, Hercegovgo and Cecelija. The Albanians moved entirely only out of the settlement Gojbulja.

#### Klina Opstina

The total population increased from 33,946 in 1961 to 54,539 in 1981, or 60.7 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 9,406 to 7,802, or 17.1 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 24,227 to 45,594, or 88.2 percent. In 1981 there were only 1,143 inhabitants belonging to other nationalities (mostly Gypsies).

The following changes occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 27.7 percent to 14.3 percent, and the share of Albanians increased from 71.4 percent to 83.6 percent.

The opstina has 64 settlements. The largest is Klina, with a population of 4,512. There were Serbs and Montenegrins in 54 settlements in 1961 and 43 settlements in 1981. Most of them were in the following six settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Berkovo	479	453	18	46
Veliko Krusevo	346	397	610	805
Vidanje	472	444	314	437
Drsnik	928	725	222	242
Kijevo	506	600	482	921
Klina	<u>646</u>	<u>1,190</u>	<u>433</u>	<u>3,156</u>
Total	3,377	3,809	2,079	5,607

Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved entirely out of the following settlements: Balince, Bobovac, Vrmnica, Dobri Do, Iglarevo, Svrhe, Sicevo, Cerovik, Crni Lug, Veliki Drenovac and Ceskovo. The Albanians have not moved out of a single settlement.

#### Vitina Opstina

This opstina had a population of 33,642 in 1961 and 47,839 in 1981. The increase amounts to 42.2 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 10,753 to 8,548, or 20.5 percent; the number of Albanians increased from 20,496 to 35,105, or 71.3 percent, and the number of inhabitants of other nationalities increased from 2,393 to 4,186, or 74.9 percent.

The following changes have occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 31.9 percent to 17.9 percent, the share of Albanians increased from 60.9 percent to 73.4 percent, and the share of "others" increased from 7.1 percent to 8.8 percent.



The opština has 43 settlements. The largest are these: Pozaranje with a population of 3,490 and Vitina with a population of 3,108. There were Serbs and Montenegrins in 30 settlements in 1961 and 28 in 1981. Most of them were in the following seven settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Binac	511	424	367	729
Vitina	2,050	2,165	274	692
Vrbovac	734	847	7	--
Grncar	455	508	--	--
Zitinje	470	586	470	652
Klokot	928	1,182	12	18
Mogila	<u>1,024</u>	<u>871</u>	<u>413</u>	<u>644</u>
Total	6,172	6,583	1,543	2,735

As is evident from the table, five settlements showed even a certain increase in the number of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Over the 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins moved entirely out of the following settlements: Balance, Begunce, Veliki Goden and Smira. Albanians moved entirely out of the settlement Vrbovac.

#### Istok Opština

The opština's population increased from 33,779 in 1961 to 40,104 in 1981, or 48.3 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 12,901 to 9,592, or 25.6 percent; the number of Albanians increased from 19,067 to 35,972, or 88.7 percent, and the number of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities increased from 1,811 to 4,540, or 150.7 percent.

The following changes occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 38.2 percent to 19.1 percent; the share of Albanians increased from 56.4 percent to 71.8 percent, and the share of "others" increased from 5.4 percent to 9.1 percent (mainly Muslims and Gypsies).

The opština has 50 settlements. There were Serbs and Montenegrins in all settlements in 1961. In 1981 there were no Serbs and Montenegrins in the following settlements: Lugovo, Novi Veric, Studenica and Trbuhovac. The largest drop in the number of Serbs and Montenegrins occurred in the following settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>		<u>Others</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Dobrusa	1,104	282	70	284	63	1,289
Dubrava	270	140	298	747	46	484
Djurakovac	947	728	1,176	2,325	20	47

Table (continued)

Settlement	Serbs and Montenegrins		Albanians		Others	
	1961	1981	1961	1981	1961	1981
Ljubovo	369	143	353	638	5	308
Suvi Lukavac	292	159	27	121	1	55
Suvo Grlo	159	58	493	922	70	--
Total	3,141	1,510	2,417	5,037	205	2,183

The drop in the number of Serbs and Montenegrins in these 6 settlements was 1,631, which is more than half of the total, which was 3,309 [sic], while the number of Albanians and "others" (mainly Muslims) increased from 2,622 to 7,220. It is obvious that it is not a question here of natural population growth, but of people moving in to take up the farms sold by the Serbs and Montenegrins.

#### Lipljan Opstina

The population of this opstina increased from 40,070 in 1961 to 60,037 in 1981, or 49.8 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 11,535 to 10,613, or 8 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 24,433 to 43,118, or 76.7 percent, and the number of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities increased from 4,102 to 6,306 (53.7 percent).

The following changes took place in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 28.8 percent to 17.7 percent, the share of Albanians increased from 61 percent to 71.8 percent, and the share of "others" increased from 10.2 percent to 10.5 percent (the group of "others" in 1981 included 3,676 Croats, 1,625 Gypsies and 748 Muslims [ethnic]).

The opstina has 74 settlements. The largest are Lipljan with a population of 6,065 and Janjevo with a population of 5,086. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 49 settlements, but in 1981 they were in only 28 settlements. Most of them were in the following eight settlements:

Settlement	Serbs and Montenegrins		Albanians	
	1961	1981	1961	1981
Gornja Gusterica	466	536	13	--
Dobrotin	902	991	54	1
Donja Gusterica	1,166	1,165	8	1
Livadje	879	588	35	--
Lipljan	1,787	3,219	575	1,676
Skulanovo	501	403	14	--
Slovinje	494	398	1,259	2,495
Suvi Do	532	538	93	98
Total	6,727	7,838	2,055	4,271

It is interesting to note that 73.9 percent of all the Serbs and Montenegrins in the opstina live in these 8 settlements. There are only 2,775 in the other 20 settlements. Aside from Lipljan and Slovinje, in which the Albanians are more numerous represented, in the other six settlements Albanians have almost all moved out, which leads one to the conclusion that ethnically pure populations are being created in certain settlements.

Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved entirely out of the following settlements: Bandulic, Banjica, Brus, Bujance, Bukovica, Velika Dobranja, Velko Ribare, Gornje Gadimlje, Gornje Godance, Guvno Selo, Divljaka, Donje Gadimlje, Mala Dobranja, Mali Alas, Malo Gracko, Oklap, Okosnica, Poturovce, Sedlare, Cuculjaga, Vogacica, Vrsevac and Glavica. The Albanians have entirely moved out of the following settlements: Gornja Gusterica, Donja Gusterica, Libadje, Skulanovo and Sisarka.

#### Prizren Opstina

After Pristina Prizren Opstina has the highest procentual population growth in Kosovo. Its population increased from 70,043 in 1961 to 134,526 in 1981, or 92.1 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins showed a slight drop from 12,436 to 12,189, or 2 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 48,495 to 93,657, or 93.1 percent. A large growth was also recorded for inhabitants belonging to other nationalities (from 9,112 to 28,680, or 214.7 percent).

The following changes occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 17.8 to 9.1 percent, the share of Albanians increased slightly from 69.2 percent to 69.6 percent, and the share of "others" increased significantly from 13 percent to 21.3 percent (within this the number of Muslims [ethnic] increased from 88 to 16,857). It is obvious that we are dealing here with differences in the way nationality was declared in certain settlements in 1961 and 1981, and that above all in the following settlements in Sredacka Zupa [a district]: Gornje Ljubinje, Gornje Selo, Grncare, Donje Ljubinje, Jablanica, Lokvica, Manastirica, Nebregoste, Novo Selo, Planjane, Recane and Skorobiste. In these settlements most of the population in 1961 declared itself to be Albanian, while in 1981 they declared themselves to be Muslims.

There are 77 settlements in the opstina. Largest is Prizren with a population of 61,801, which comprises 45.9 percent of the population of the entire opstina. In 1961 there were Serbs and Montenegrins in 57 settlements, and in 1981 only 43 settlements. Most of them were in the following four settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Ljubizda	704	669	487	1,162
Prizren	6,173	8,179	14,933	39,412
Novake	331	420	17	40
Sredska	951	445	2	3
Total	8,159	9,713	15,439	40,617

These 4 settlements account for 79.7 percent of the Serbs and Montenegrins living in the opstina. There are only 2,476 Serbs and Montenegrins living in the other 39 settlements.

Over the last 20 years Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the following settlements: Atmadja, Vrbnica, Vrsnja, Gorozup, Grazdanik, Grncare, Dobruste, Donje Ljubinje, Jeskovo, Kabas, Kabas Has, Kojus, Kusnin, Nova Sumadija, Pirane, Planeja, Posliste, Randubrava, Struzje, Trepetnica and Skoza. Among these settlements Nova Sumadija had 88 Serbs and Montenegrins in 1961, while the other 20 settlements had only 46. The Albanians have moved out entirely from the following settlements: Vrbicane, Ziviniane and Lokvica.

Ethnically pure populations are also being created in the settlements of this border opstina.

#### Kosovska Kamenica Opstina

This opstina had the smallest population growth after Leposavic Opstina, which was the only opstina in Kosovo to have an absolute drop in population. The population increased from 43,053 in 1961 to 48,320 in 1981, or 12.2 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 17,505 to 14,873, or 15 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 24,566 to 32,390, or 31.9 percent.

The following changes occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 40.6 percent to 30.8 percent, the share of Albanians increased from 57 percent to 67 percent, and the share of "others" dropped from 2.3 percent to 2.2 percent.

There are 74 settlements in the opstina. There were Serbs and Montenegrins in 67 settlements in 1961 and only 49 settlements in 1981. Since it is a markedly underdeveloped opstina, there are no sizable settlements. The largest is Kosovska Kamenica, which has a population of only 5,383. It is characteristic of this opstina that ethnically pure populations are being created in the settlements (where the Albanians were predominant, the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out, and vice versa). Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the following settlements: Velje Glava, Gmince, Gornja Sipasnica, Dazdince, Dajkovce, Desivojce, Donje Kacarevo, Djurisevce, Zuja, Zajcevce, Koprivnica, Krajnji Del, Ljajic, Mucivrcce, Policka, Rogacica, Svirce, Sedlare, Toponica and Tudjevce. Over that same period the Albanians moved out of the following settlements: Bosce, Busnica, Domorovce, Donje Korminjane, Drenovce, Miganovce, Odevce, Pancelo, Ranilug, Tirince and Carevce.

#### Leposavic Opstina

This is the only opstina in Kosovo which has had a drop in population over the last 20 years. The population dropped from 18,970 in 1961 to 16,906 in 1981, or 10.9 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 17,412 to 15,056, or 13.5 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 843 to 858, or 1.8 percent.



The population of the opstina is predominantly Serbian (83.6 percent), the Albanians represent 5.1 percent, the Montenegrins 0.5 percent, and the "others," mainly Muslims and Gypsies, 5.9 percent. There are a sizable number of Albanians only in the following four settlements: Kosutovo (295), Leposavic (34), Ceraja (264) and Saljska Bistrica (253). Muslims and Gypsies are settled in somewhat greater numbers only in the following settlements: Berberiste (73), Vracevo (114), Leposavic (69), Lesak (209) and Rvatska (477).

The opstina has 71 settlements. There are no Serbs and Montenegrins in only 2 settlements (Ceraja and Saljska Bistrica), but no Albanians in 62 settlements.

Over the last 20 years the Albanians have moved out of the following settlements entirely: Belo Brdo, Borovo, Vracevo, Donji Krnjin, Jelakce, Kajkovo, Kijevcice, Rodelj, Slatina, Socanica and Crnatovo.

#### Pec Opstina

The total population increased from 66,656 in 1961 to 111,071 in 1981, or 66.6 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 21,553 to 17,791, or 17.5 percent; the number of Albanians increased from 41,532 to 79,965, or 92.5 percent, and the number of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities increased from 3,571 to 13,315, or 272.9 percent.

The following changes occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 32.4 percent to 16 percent, the share of Albanians increased from 62.3 percent to 72 percent, and the share of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities increased from 5.4 percent to 12 percent. We are dealing here mainly with a sizable increase in the number of Muslims and Gypsies, and that in part because of differences in declaration of nationality as compared to 1961 and partly because Muslims have been moving in from other areas (the settlements Pec and Vitimirica).

In 1961 the opstina had 77 settlements, while in 1981 it 80 (there was a division of settlements--a part of the settlement Ruhot became a separate settlement Osoje, the settlement Novi Rausic became separate from the settlement Rausic, and Laz Belopac became separate from the settlement Mali Stupelj); the largest settlement in the opstina is Pec with a population of 54,497, that is, 79.1 percent of the population of the entire opstina. Pec had 36,606 Albanians, 3,847 Serbs, 7,039 Montenegrins, 4,153 Muslims [ethnic], 2,272 Gypsies and 526 inhabitants belonging to other nationalities. There were Serbs and Montenegrins in 65 settlements in 1961 and 54 in 1981. Most of them were in the following four settlements:

Settlement	Serbs and Montenegrins		Albanians		Others	
	1961	1981	1961	1981	1961	1981
Belo Polje	883	731	--	30	--	11
Vitimirica	2,323	1,030	268	1,149	377	3,618
Gorazdevac	1,135	1,162	98	113	2	165
Pec	<u>10,128</u>	<u>10,886</u>	<u>16,582</u>	<u>36,660</u>	<u>1,641</u>	<u>6,951</u>
Total	14,469	13,809	16,948	37,952	2,020	10,745

These 4 settlements account for 77.6 percent of all the Serbs and Montenegrins in the opstina, while the other 50 settlements have only 22.4 percent, that is, only 3,982 Serbs and Montenegrins.

Over the last 20 years Serbs and Montenegrins moved entirely out of the following settlements: Boge, Veliki Stupelj, Vranovac, Drelje, Dubovo, Kosutane, Kuciste, Lipa, Lodja, Lozane, Lugadjija, Ljutoglava, Mala Jablanica, Kadzovici and Skrelje. The Albanians have not moved out of a single settlement.

#### Urosevac Opstina

The population of the opstina increased from 63,714 in 1961 to 113,680 in 1981, or 78.4 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 19,805 to 18,638, or 5.8 percent; the number of Albanians increased from 43,015 to 90,521, or 110.4 percent; and the number of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities increased from 894 to 4,521, or 413.5 percent.

The following changes occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 31.1 percent to 16.4 percent; the share of Albanians increased from 67.5 percent to 79.6 percent; and the share of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities increased from 1.4 percent to 4 percent. By and large this has to do with a sizable increase in the number of Muslims and Gypsies, and that above all in the settlement Urosevac.

The opstina has 79 settlements. Urosevac is the largest with a population of 37,659 (34.9 percent of the opstina's entire population). There were Serbs and Montenegrins in 61 settlements in 1961 and in 56 in 1981. Most of the Serbian population and a few Montenegrins are settled in Urosevac, Stimlje and the villages of the Sirinicka Zupa, as can be seen from the following table:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Urosevac	4,137	5,464	6,960	28,365
Stimlje	883	716	1,929	4,352
Berevce	741	865	10	--
Vrbestica	1,058	922	2	--
Gotovusa	822	967	16	1
Jazince	673	728	--	--
Sevce	1,114	1,211	6	3
Strpce	<u>1,778</u>	<u>1,918</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	11,206	12,791	8,944	32,724

These 8 settlements account for 68.6 percent of all the Serbs and Montenegrins in the opstina. In Urosevac itself the number of Serbs and Montenegrins increased by only 1,327 over the 20 years, while the number of Albanians grew by 21,405. In all the settlements of Sirinicka Zupa except Vrbestica the number of Serbs and Montenegrins has been increasing, and those few Albanians which had been living in them moved away.

Over the last 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the following settlements: Balic, Kamena Glava, Kosare, Kostanjevo, Firaja and Crnoljevo. Over the same period the Albanians moved out of the following settlements entirely: Brevce, Vrbestica, Drajkovce and Jazince.

In 1961 there were 164 Serbs and Montenegrins in the village Raka and no Albanians. In 1981 the situation had changed completely--there were 576 Albanians in the village and only 1 Serb and 1 Montenegrin.

#### Gnjilane Opstina

The population of the opstina increased from 53,476 in 1961 to 84,085 in 1981, or 57.2 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins increased from 19,146 to 19,386, or 1.3 percent, and the number of Albanians from 30,395 to 59,764, or 96.6 percent. In 1961 there were 3,935 members of other nationalities, and in 1981 there were 4,935 (a 25.4-percent increase).

The following changes have occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 35.8 percent to 23 percent, the share of Albanians increased from 66.8 percent to 71.1 percent, and the share of those belonging to other nationalities dropped from 7.4 percent to 5.9 percent.

The opstina has 57 settlements. The largest is Gnjilane with a population of 35,229 (41.9 percent of the population of the entire opstina). In 1961 there were 38 settlements with Serbs and Montenegrins, and in 1981 there were 28. They are mostly in the following settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Gnjilane	4,903	5,787	5,535	25,619
Gornje Kusce	1,231	1,618	147	197
Donja Budriga	800	1,013	--	1
Koretisce	1,144	1,194	--	--
Paralovo	910	964	25	24
Partes	1,005	1,271	1	2
Pasjane	1,496	1,973	6	--
Pones	687	773	509	635
Silovo	<u>752</u>	<u>881</u>	<u>140</u>	<u>190</u>
Total	12,928	15,474	6,363	26,668

The number of Serbs and Montenegrins in Gnjilane increased by only 884 (18 percent), while the number of Albanians increased by 20,084 (362.9 percent). In all, the 9 settlements enumerated account for 79.8 percent of the Serbs and Montenegrins in the opstina. This means that 20.2 percent of the Serbs and Montenegrins live in the other 17 settlements. The rule also applies in this opstina that the number of Serbs and Montenegrins has been increasing in rural settlements in which they are predominant in the population. In settlements inhabited primarily by Albanian population the number of Serbs and Montenegrins has been dropping because of emigration.

Over the past 20 years Serbs and Montenegrins have entirely moved out of the following settlements: Brasaljce, Bukovik, Burince, Vladovo, Dobrcane, Lovce, Mucibaba, Pasjak, Podgradje, Sapar, Stanicic and Naselje. The Albanians have moved entirely only out of the settlement Pasjane.

#### Titova Mitrovica Opstina

This opstina had a population of 70,555 in 1961 and 105,323 in 1981. The growth was 49.3 percent. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 31,631 to 27,930, or 11.7 percent, while the number of Albanians increased from 35,015 to 66,528, or 90 percent. There was also an appreciable increase in the number of inhabitants of other nationalities--from 3,909 to 10,865, or 177.9 percent. The latter group is made up mainly of Muslims [ethnic] and Gypsies, most of them living in the settlement Titova Mitrovica.

The following changes have occurred in the composition of the population: the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 44.8 percent to 26.5 percent, and the share of Albanians increased from 49.6 percent to 63.2 percent and the share of "others" grew from 5.5 percent to 10.3 percent.

The opstina had 141 settlements in 1961 and 146 in 1981. The largest settlement is Titova Mitrovica with a population of 52,866, or 50.2 percent of the total population of the opstina. The number of Albanians increased in that settlement from 13,574 to 32,390, or 138.6 percent, the number of Serbs and Montenegrins increased slightly from 10,020 to 10,436, or 4.2 percent, and the rest of the population (mainly Muslims and Gypsies) increased from 3,127 to 10,040, or 221.5 percent. There were Serbs and Montenegrins in 117 settlements in 1961 and in 108 settlements in 1981. There were Albanians in 63 settlements in 1961 and 65 in 1981. Titovo Mitrovica Opstina has the highest number of Serbs and Montenegrins after Pristina Opstina. Most of the Serbs and Montenegrins live in the following 10 settlements:

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>	
	1961	1981	1961	1981
Veliko Rudare	545	603	--	1
Grabovac	525	535	--	--
Zerovnica	390	524	--	1
Zitkovac	520	750	2	--
Zvecan	2,111	2,479	99	105
Zubin Potok	234	782	1	4
Zupce	518	539	--	--
Korilje	439	906	--	--
Titova Mitrovica	10,020	10,436	13,574	32,390
Svinjare	<u>588</u>	<u>547</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>240</u>
Total	15,890	18,101	13,817	32,741

These settlements account for 64.8 percent of the opstina's Serbs and Montenegrins, which means that the other 98 settlements account for only 9,829, or 35.2 percent.

Over the 20 years Serbs and Montenegrins have moved entirely out of the following settlements: Brabonjic, Veliki Kicic, Vidusic, Vlahinje, Gusavac, Donje Zabare, Donji Suvi Do, Zasela, Kacandol, Kutlovac, Lipa, Ljusta, Reka, Rzana, Strana and Cabra. Albanians over the same period moved entirely out of the following settlements: Bojnovice, Bresnica, Vukojevice, Dobrosevina, Doljane, Zitkovac, Jankov Potok, Korilje, Malo Rudare, Paruci and Pridvorica. This means that in just 20 years ethnically pure populations of Serbs and Montenegrins and of Albanians have been created (not counting the "others," for whom this process is difficult to follow because of differing declarations in the censuses).

#### Pristina Opstina

Pristina Opstina is the largest opstina in Kosovo in terms of population. The opstina's population increased from 102,516 in 1961 to 210,040 in 1981, or 104.9 percent. This is at the same time the largest growth of total population in the province. The number of Serbs and Montenegrins increased from 38,871 to 50,269, or 29.3 percent, the number of Albanians increased from 57,417 to 140,041, or 143.9 percent, and the number of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities increased from 6,228 to 19,728, or 216.8 percent. The largest increase was recorded for Gypsies and Muslims [ethnic], and that mainly because of differences in declaration of nationality between 1961 and 1981. As for the Serbs and Montenegrins in the province, only two opstinas had recorded an increase in their number. This is Gnjilane Opstina, where the increase was only 1.3 percent, and Pristina Opstina, with an increase of 29.3 percent.

These changes in population exerted a corresponding influence on the changing ethnic composition. The share of Albanians increased from 56 percent to 66.7 percent, the share of Serbs and Montenegrins dropped from 37.9 percent to 23.9 percent, and the share of members of other nationalities (predominantly Muslims and Gypsies) increased from 6.1 percent to 9.4 percent.

The opstina had 94 settlements in 1961 and 92 in 1981. The largest settlement in the opstina is Pristina with a population of 108,083, or 51.5 percent of the opstina's total population. In 1961 there were 61 settlements with Serbs and Montenegrins. Pristina had more Serbs and Montenegrins than any opstina in Kosovo, slightly more than one-fifth. Most of the Serbs and Montenegrins were in the following settlements:

Settlement	Serbs and Montenegrins		Albanians		Others	
	1961	1981	1961	1981	1961	1981
Babin Most	610	818	123	254	12	5
Gracanica	1,656	3,239	221	503	14	795
Izvor	690	760	76	34	2	5
Kosovo Polje	2,156	6,619	144	2,831	123	3,467
Laplje Selo	996	1,148	3	--	44	61
Obilic	2,026	3,294	1,434	3,289	186	2,186
Plemetina	543	804	383	464	3	325
Pristina	14,694	21,067	19,060	75,803	4,838	11,213



Table (continued)

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Serbs and Montenegrins</u>		<u>Albanians</u>		<u>Others</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1981</u>
Ugljare	718	894	1	9	29	46
Caglavica	766	1,025	23	17	--	62
Total	24,856	39,578	21,468	83,204	5,251	18,165

These settlements accounted for 78.8 percent of the Serbs and Montenegrins, 59.4 percent of the Albanians and 92.1 percent of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities in the entire opstina. In Pristina itself the number of Serbs and Montenegrins increased over the 20-year period by only 6,372, or 43.4 percent, the number of Albanians increased by 56,743, or 297.7 percent, and the number of inhabitants of other nationalities increased by 6,375, or 131.8 percent.

Over the past 20 years the Serbs and Montenegrins moved entirely out of the following settlements: Ajkobila, Bariljevo, Breznica, Businje, Dabisevac, Donji Grabovac, Drenovac, Zlatare, Kacikol, Leskovcic, Marevce, Propastica, Prugovac, Rimaniste, Tenes Do and Hamidijsa. Entirely out of the settlement. Albanians moved entirely out of the following settlements: Badovac, Zebince, Laplje Selo and Trenicevce.

#### Concluding Remarks

Over these 20 years the total population of the province increased from 936,988 to 1,584,441. The increase was 620,453, or 64.4 percent. This is the largest relative population growth recorded in Yugoslavia.

The large absolute increase in the size of the population, even though more than 112,000 Serbs and Montenegrins moved out of Kosovo in that period, is above all the result of the very high natural population growth. Between 1961 and 1970 the average annual rate of natural population growth was about 28.7 pro mille, and between 1971 and 1980 it was 27.3 pro mille; the corresponding rates in Serbia proper were 7 pro mille and 6.1 pro mille, and in SAP Vojvodina they were 5.2 pro mille and 3.5 pro mille, respectively.

Under the influence of the high natural population growth, which is far higher for the Albanian population, the Muslims [ethnic] and Gypsies than for the Serbian and Montenegrin population, and the significant emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, over the last 20 years there have been very large changes in the ethnic composition of the population in Kosovo. These changes have not only affected every opstina, but indeed most settlements. As for the settlements, the changes were largest in urban settlements, but they also occurred in all those rural settlements which had a mixed population.

In the major urban settlements (Pristina, Prizren, Pec, Titova Mitrovica, Djakovica, Urosevac and Gnjilane), which today have more than one-fourth of Kosovo's population and whose population has increased 2.34-fold between 1961

and 1981, the changes in the ethnic composition of the population have been most intensive. The share of Albanians has increased from 56.9 percent to 70.5 percent, the share of Serbs and Montenegrins has dropped from 31.3 percent to 16.6 percent, and the share of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities (predominantly Muslims and Gypsies) increased from 11.8 percent to 12.9 percent. The absolute figures speak still more convincingly about this process: whereas the number of Serbs and Montenegrins increased only 12,679 in these cities, the number of Albanians increased by 181,023, and the number of inhabitants belonging to other nationalities by 31,023. It is obvious that behind these numbers there is a definite policy in hiring the rural population over a lengthy period of time, the application of so-called "ethnic" quotas, employment conditional upon knowing two languages, etc.

In rural settlements with a mixed population a very intensive process has been taking place whereby ethnically pure populations have been created. This process occurred in sixfold more settlements in which the population is predominantly Albanian, but it was also recorded in a fair number of settlements in which Serbs and Montenegrins are predominant. Over the past 20 years Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of 307 rural settlements entirely, while Albanians have completely moved out of 52 rural settlements. In the population census as of 31 March 1981 it was established that 608 of the 1,445 settlements (urban and rural) do not have a single Serb or Montenegrin, while in 197 settlements there is not a single Albanian.

7045

CSO: 2800/142

## RALIC SCORES NATIONAL 'KEY' IN DIPLOMACY; POOR MANPOWER USE CITED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 83 p 5

[Excerpts] Self-management has not brought about the economic crisis. On the contrary, negative economic results are primarily present where there has not been self-management, where bureaucratic and technocratic decisionmaking has been hidden behind a self-management facade and has always pushed back and demobilized the rights of cadres. There will be no stabilization without further development of self-management, just as the further development of self-management will not occur without economic stabilization. For such work we need capable, new, young people with expertise for whom it is not essential to just sit around, draw a pension, and ingratiate themselves with influential politicians, but who care about new social and economic development and creativity.

This was stressed by Mihailo Milojevic, member of the presidium, in his introductory speech at the 19 December meeting of the Belgrade City LC Committee. He said that we have an enormous potential of highly trained and scientific cadres, but this has not been arranged so that [these cadres] are in the right places, in the right roles, and assuming the right responsibilities. Most are engaged in work outside the economic [production] sector. Only 4 percent of Ph.D's are working in the economy, while only 7,000 workers with advanced education are employed in industry in Belgrade. Much manpower is mistakenly allocated and there are few real results in the sense of making knowledge and science a directly productive force and a creative social factor.

Certainly there are supervisory personnel who have not kept up with the times, who are resting on their past laurels rather than on the results of their current work. But we must be against chasing them [out of office] and settling accounts with people. This is a principle of our moral life and revolution. People must be removed from their function but this should be done democratically and with consideration to their dignity.

Dr Prvoslav Ralic stressed that in our society we do not have one cadre policy supported by people who are LC supporters; in our society an ideological and class struggle is being waged for various cadre policies. Many LC critics say that the existence of a party monopoly in cadre policy is leading to an iron law of negative selection. We must say that the LC in fact is not immune to monopolistic tendencies, especially in critical times of sharpened relations between political forces centering around the struggle for self-management or other orientations.

He said: "If we want the best cadres to do the most important work, then we must free ourselves also from some negative fetishes in cadre policy. Unfortunately we have many cases demonstrating the fetish regarding the nationality schema as it relates to the political structure where consideration is not given to having work done by the best people from a particular nation or nationality. It is [qualification] enough that someone is a Serb, Montenegrin, Albanian, Slovenian, for him to carry out some function regardless of whether he is the most capable or qualified for this. The case which we now have in the Federal Executive Council is especially indicative. We also have examples which are a disgrace to us not only at home but also abroad. People are being sent to diplomatic posts who not only do not know the language of the country to which they are going but do not know anything about the economy, culture, or history of that country. They are simply going there because they are of a particular nationality. This is not cadre policy, this is clan or blood policy or, to put it even more strongly, this is not even a policy of the "herd" because in the animal world the strongest leads the others, while this is not the case here.

"There is also the so-called societal fetish. People are not selected according to ability but according to membership in the social structures. Hence we often get young people, inadequately competent and uneducated people who best fit into the cadre market because they have the time, because they are not working or studying.

"We also have the fetish of mandate [term of office] which compels us to serve this principle for its own sake and not the requirements of real life. If real life increasingly offers arguments showing that the established mandates do not correspond to the requirements of life, then one should change them [the mandates] and not cling to the 1-year mandate regardless of whether it is necessary or not, because this [principle] is neither rational nor revolutionary. In the maelstrom of our cadre policy we are bringing to the surface the same names and are not adequately rejuvenating our institutions."

CSO: 2800/166

END